A Publication of Lindenwood University Press
Spring/Summer 2014
Vol. 5, No. 2
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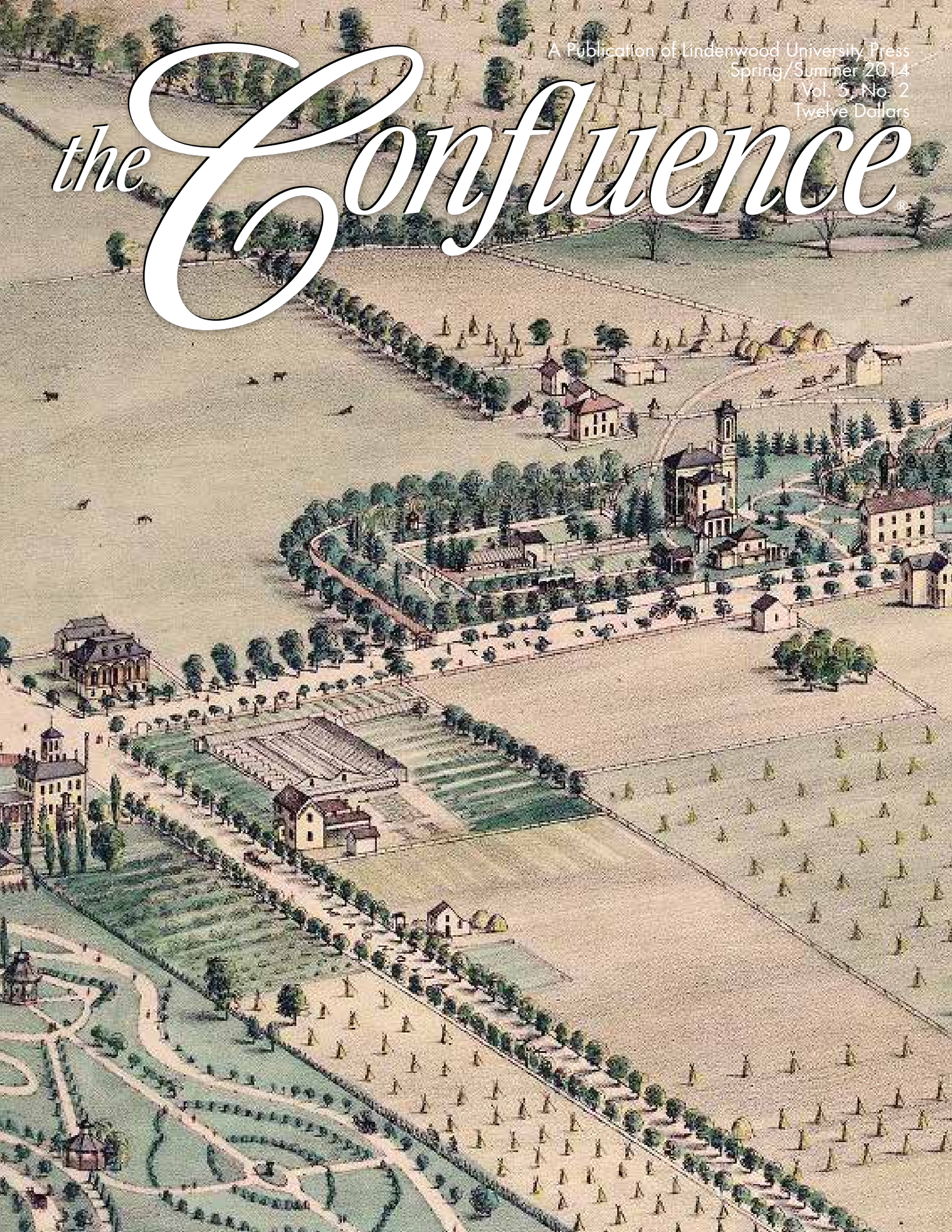

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Spring/Summer 2014
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CONTENTS

COVER IMAGE

When Frederick Law Olmsted visited St. Louis in April 1863, he paid a visit to Henry Shaw and saw his expansion gardens, pictured here. For more on Olmsted's views on St. Louis and the future Missouri Botanical Garden, see "A Frontier City Through a Planner's Eyes: Frederick Law Olmsted's Visit to St. Louis," starting on page 40. *(Image: Missouri Botanical Garden Archives*

INSIDE COVER

The Independent Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF) started in the United States in 1819, and grew to be one of the largest fraternal organizations in the country by century's end. Its logo featured the three interlocking rings and the letters F, L, and T (Friendship, Love, and Truth). Much of the paraphernalia for the IOOF and other fraternal organizations came from DeMoulin Bros. & Co., located in Greenville, Illinois. DeMoulin sold enough to the IOOF to even print catalogues with its own covers. For more on DeMoulin and the fraternal order market, see Adam Stroud's "Supplying Fraternalism: DeMoulin Bros. & Co. and Side-Degree Paraphernalia," starting on page 18. *(Image: DeMoulin Museum)*

The Confluence is a regional studies journal published by Lindenwood University and dedicated to the diversity of ideas and disciplines of a liberal arts university. It is committed to the intersection of history, art and architecture, design, science, social science, and public policy. Its articles are diverse by design.

the Confluence®

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

An undertaking like *The Confluence* doesn't happen without the help of many people, both within Lindenwood University and beyond. We owe particular thanks to President James Evans, Provost Jann Weitzel, and the Board of Directors at Lindenwood for supporting this venture. We'd like to take this opportunity to extend our gratitude to the following people, institutions, and companies for their contributions to this issue of *The Confluence*; we could not have done it without you.

Julie Beard
Bellefontaine Cemetery
Jaime Bourassa
Cartography Associates
Casey Christensen
Anne Cox
Jean DeMoss
DeMoulin Museum
Daniel Drouin
Chris Duggan
Tim Fox
Steven Gietschier
Kyle Glover
Peter Griffin
Paul Huffman
Johns Hopkins University Press
Library of Congress
Missouri Botanical Garden Archives
Missouri History Museum
National Park Service
State Historical Society of Missouri
Adam Stroud
Michael Whaley

"A Frontier City Through a Planner's Eyes: Frederick Law Olmsted's Visit to St. Louis" reprinted courtesy of: Olmsted, Frederick Law. *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted: Defending the Union: The Civil War and the U.S. Sanitary Commission, 1861–1863*. Volume IV. pp. 585-589. © 1986 Johns Hopkins University Press. Reprinted with permission of Johns Hopkins University Press.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

ISSN 2150-2633 *The Confluence* is a nonprofit semiannual publication of Lindenwood University, St. Charles, Missouri.

Requests to reprint any part of *The Confluence* should be sent to Editor, *The Confluence*, c/o Lindenwood University, 209 S. Kingshighway, St. Charles, Missouri 63301, or via e-mail to confluence@lindenwood.edu.

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FROM THE EDITOR

Ideas about place and our sense of it represent an interesting notion. Why is it that some people have such a strong affinity for place, while others don't? How do our ideas about place and its ownership change so much?

This occurred to me anew in a recent visit to Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's home. It's a striking place with a beautiful view that Jefferson loved. One historian has suggested that the home is the real biography of Jefferson. Perhaps, although I hope that my cluttered office and desk isn't my parallel (although, I'm reminded of Albert Einstein's observation on such matters—the assertion that a cluttered desk is a sign of a cluttered mind led Einstein to wonder what an empty desk suggested). But what about place?

This issue of *The Confluence* is also about place. B. J. McMahon's article examines the contested nature of place in the region. How, McMahon asks, do people change their views about place as they see newcomers moving in and altering it, as did Native Americans in the early nineteenth century in St. Louis? And how did those newcomers, who were taking a greater sense of ownership, respond and see their new place?

This interchange in contested space and claiming it is also part of Bonnie Steppenof's article on vertical-log buildings in Ste. Genevieve. For transplants like me, log houses are supposed to be built with horizontal logs—you know, like log cabins and Lincoln Logs. But those cabins, and the vertical-log buildings in these parts, suggest that the built environment tells not just about this space, but also the spaces people came from. These different ways of creating vernacular structures in the United States hearken to earlier forms in Europe, telling us much about where people came from.

Adam Stroud's interesting work on fraternal organizations deals with people—almost exclusively men—creating new social structures and relationships in the new social space created by industrial America. As they created fraternal organizations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they also created places that were restricted to members of those organizations. Part of that sense of place included new gadgetry as well, including the organizational paraphernalia manufactured by DeMoulin Brothers in Greenville, Illinois.

Lastly, we are publishing Frederick Law Olmsted's account of his visit to St. Louis in 1863. Olmsted is best known for his design of New York's Central Park and his role in the creation of landscape architecture as a profession, but he also served as administrator for the United States Sanitary Commission early in the Civil War. That's what brought him on a western tour that included St. Louis. His observations about St. Louis at the time of the war are fascinating. It didn't seem like a very western place to him, a notion St. Louis leadership would have been pleased with, since an emerging generation of movers and shakers worked hard to make St. Louis a "modern" city rather than a frontier outpost.

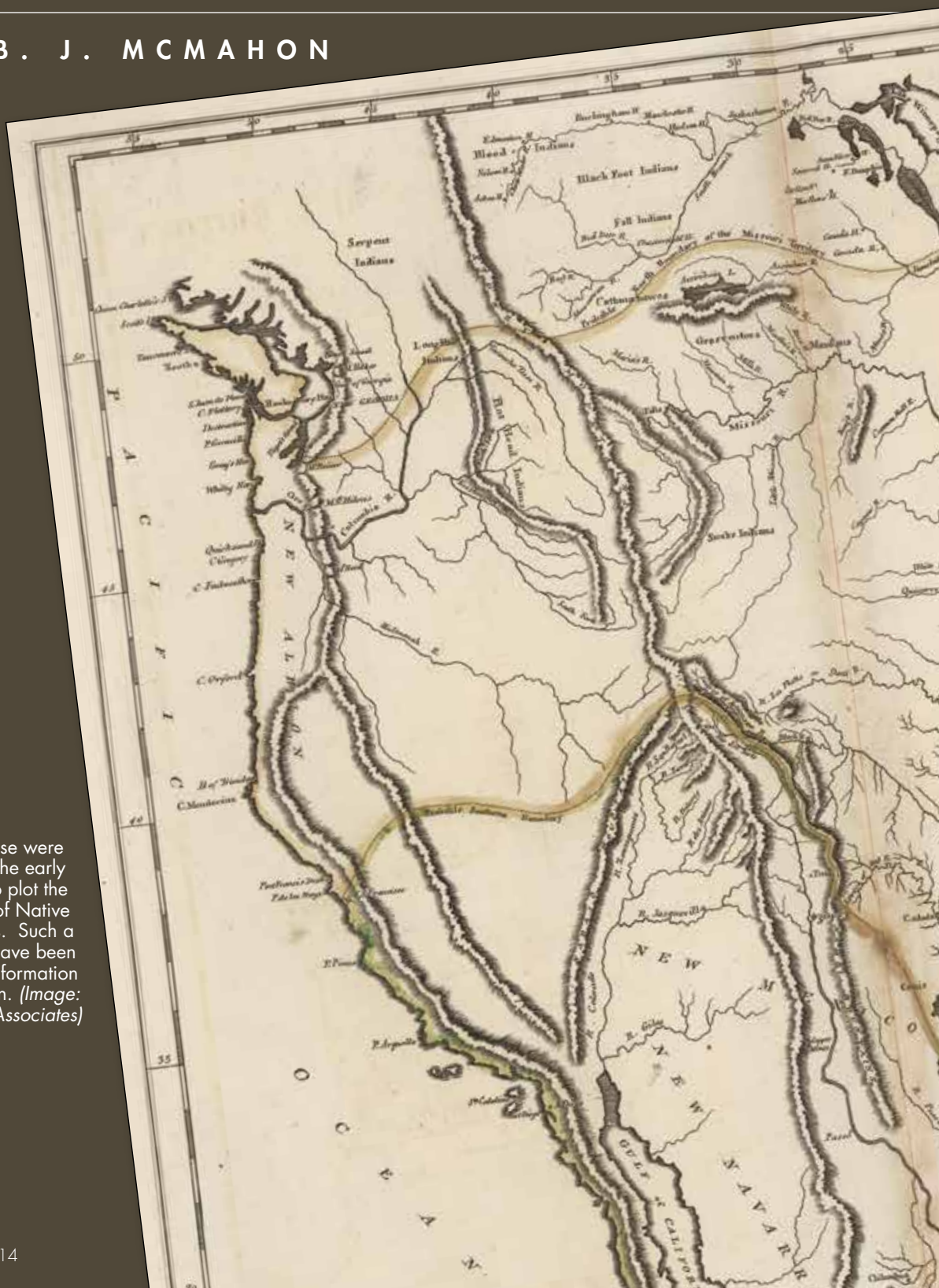
All these different places, different periods, different outlooks—and different identities with place.

Jeffrey Smith, PhD
Editor

"Benevolent Plans Meritoriously Applied:"

How Missouri Almost Became an Indian Nation, 1803–1811

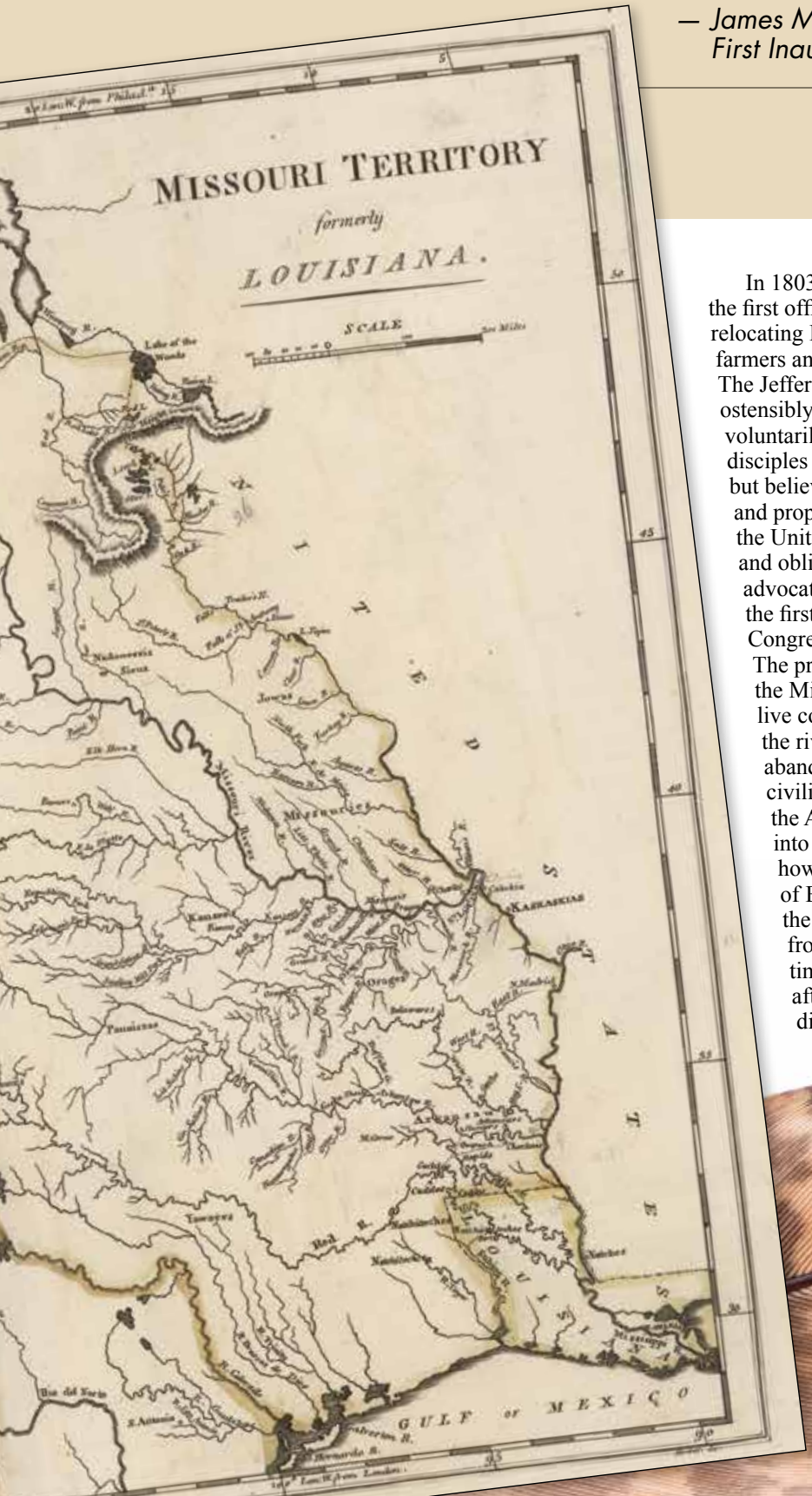
BY B. J. MCMAHON



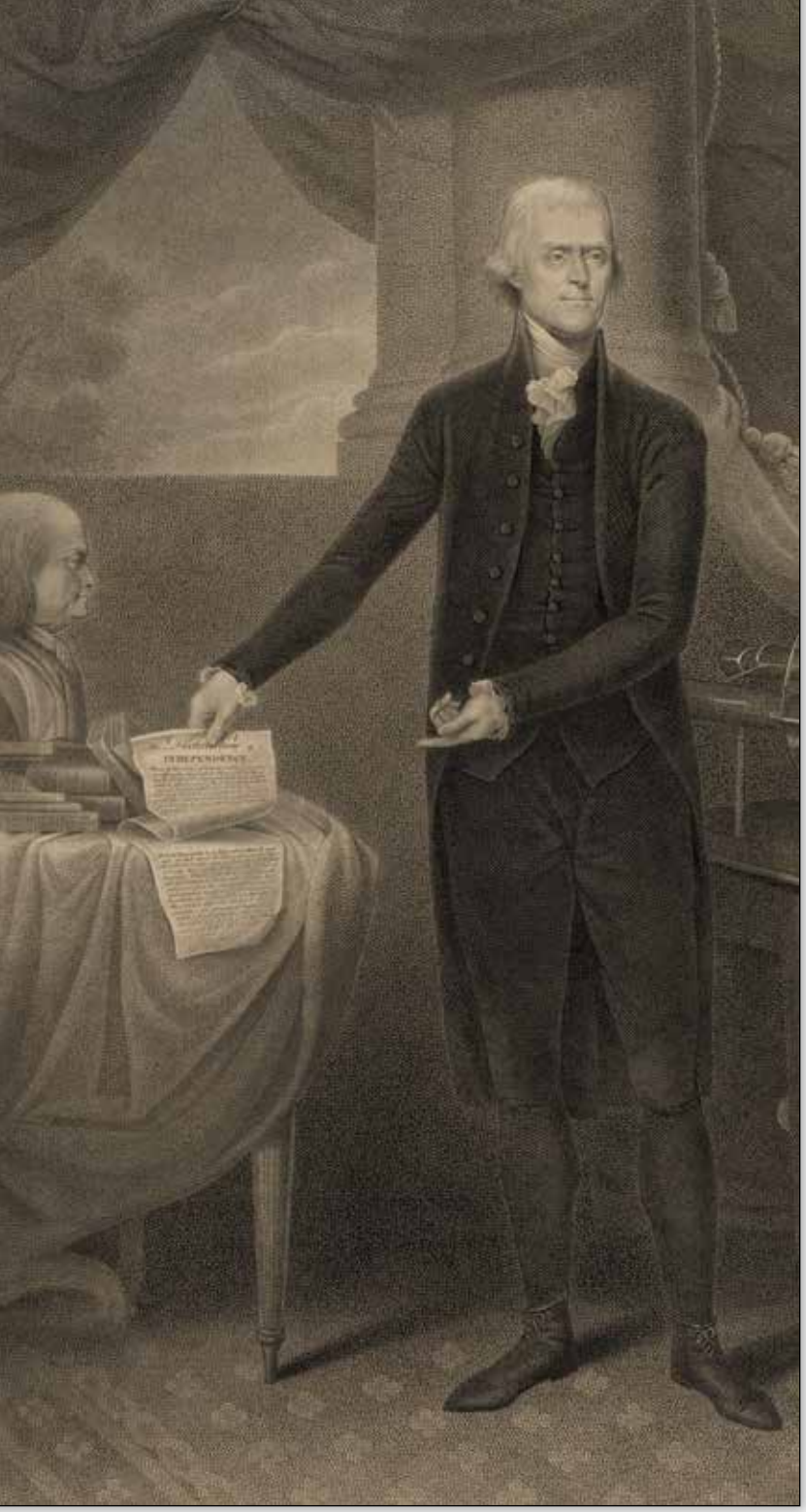
Maps such as these were published in the early nineteenth century to plot the general locations of Native American tribes. Such a map as this would have been the best available information for Jefferson. *(Image: Cartography Associates)*

…to carry on the benevolent plans which have been so meritoriously applied to the conversion of our aboriginal neighbors from the degradation and wretchedness of savage life to a participation of the improvements of which the human mind and manners are susceptible in a civilized state.

— *James Madison,*
First Inaugural Address, 4 March 1809[1]



In 1803, President Thomas Jefferson designed the first official American governmental policy of relocating Indians, one that encouraged them to become farmers and integrate into the United States as citizens. The Jeffersonian approach to Indian-white relations ostensibly planned for assimilation after the Natives voluntarily relocated to the west. Jefferson and his disciples had differing opinions about the Natives but believed they had the same rights to life, liberty, and property as the whites, and that they expected the United States to uphold honorably all treaties and obligations between them. While not the only advocate of the policy named in his honor, he was the first executive given the power and authority by Congress to treat Native Americans as he saw fit.[2] The president envisioned much of the area west of the Mississippi as a land where the Indians could live completely separated from white society east of the river. During this separation, Indians could then abandon their tribal ways and embrace so-called civilized agriculture. Once Indians conformed to the American ideal, they could ostensibly integrate into American culture. This vision for Missouri, however, completely failed. By 1838, Americans of European descent claimed the entirety of the state. The removal of indigenous peoples from Missouri occurred in a short span of time, fewer than twenty years after statehood. This diaspora is a



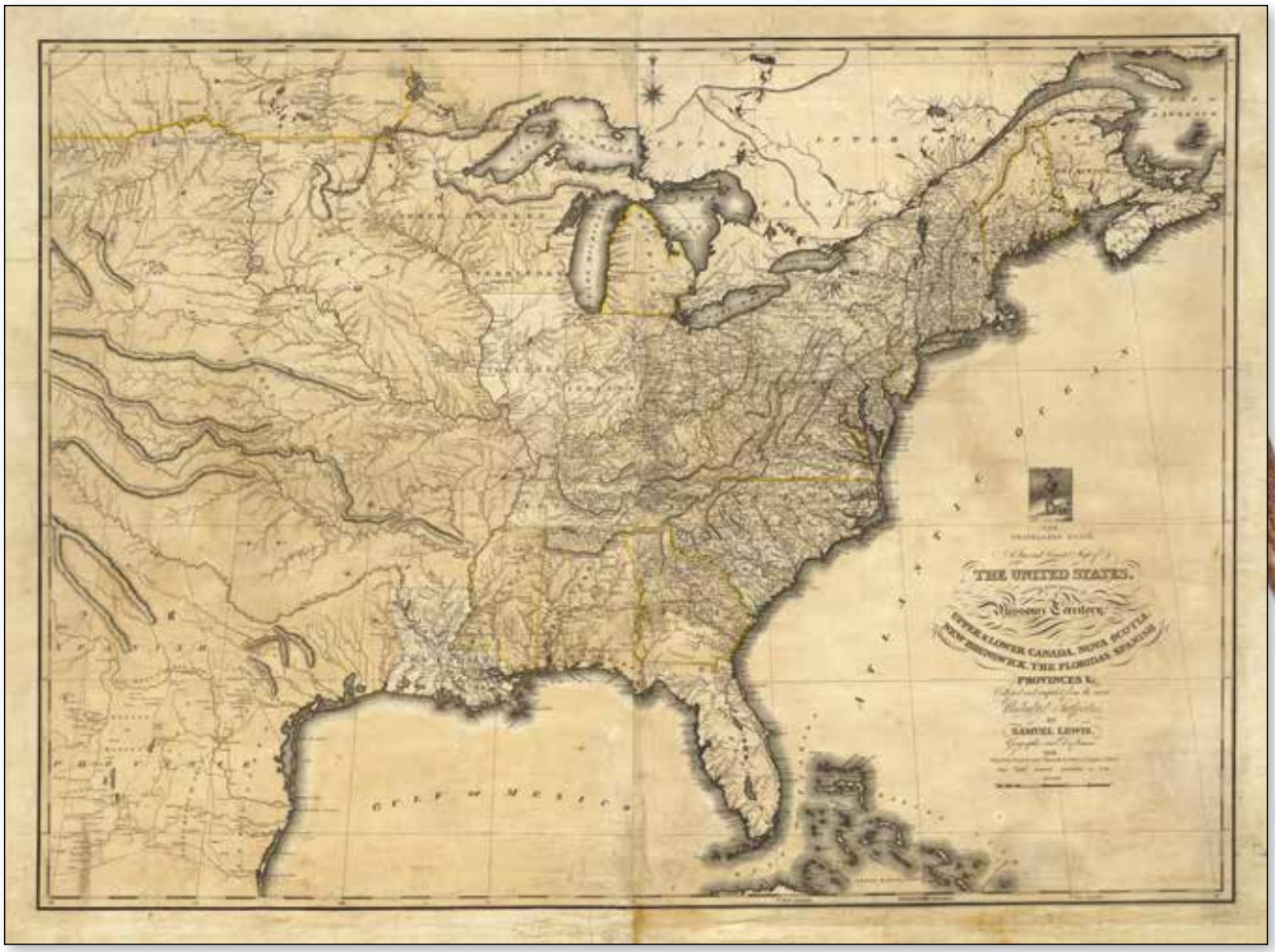
During his presidency (1801-1809), Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) was instrumental in shaping federal Indian policy. By purchasing Louisiana from France, he also acquired a place to which the United States could move native tribes. Jefferson was also a great advocate of the factory system, and expanded it during his presidency. *(Image: Library of Congress)*

remarkable, if ignoble, feat considering that more than a dozen tribes comprised of thousands of individuals either hunted or lived in the territory of Missouri. However, continuous violence, the failure to fulfill promises made to the Indians, and the inability to bind the tribes in total economic dependence on the United States all contributed to the failure of Jefferson's vision leading to the eventual triumph of the Jacksonian Ideal of forced removal.

Jefferson believed the Missouri Territory represented an excellent opportunity to solve the "Indian problem." To most Americans, the Natives were a chaotic, barely post–Stone Age people who occupied, but did not own or improve, their land. The Jefferson Ideal envisioned turning a hunter-gatherer people into citizen-farmers by ending savage behavior and peacefully enticing all Eastern tribes to move voluntarily west of the Mississippi. Not only would this transfer end conflict in the Appalachian region and Northwest Territory, it would give the Indians several generations away from encroaching white settlers, to learn, with the help of missionaries, teachers, and cultural agents, the benefits of the American agricultural civilization.[3]

Jefferson's goal of integration, however, was achievable only if several conditions became reality. The first was to induce all the eastern tribes to move west of the Mississippi River. Second, inter-tribal warfare, as well as raids against white settlements, needed to cease. Third, the Indians must, after moving, remain separated from all white populations while adapting to an agrarian culture. The division transcended mere racism. Jefferson was aware that unscrupulous traders were willing to sell alcohol and firearms to Natives, a volatile combination that often led to tragedy. He also wanted to keep other European powers from weaning the tribes away from American dependency. If Britain or Spain continued to supply and trade with the Natives, the entire plan failed. The Jefferson Ideal was more optimistic than realistic, for there were too many unforeseen variables unfolding to overcome, and too many assumptions about the cooperative nature of humanity. One of the glaring problems was that the majority of the white population never accepted tribes that successfully adopted the mores of the larger American society. Not surprisingly, a culture that casually overlooked the enslavement of Africans did not easily embrace coexistence with others not of European descent. In 1804, however, President Jefferson had reason to believe in his plan's eventual success.

The integration was possible, to Jefferson's way of thinking, because he believed the North American Indian was equal in mind and body to the European. As early as 1785, in a letter to Francois-Jean de Chastellux, an officer with the French expeditionary forces fighting against the British, the future president disputed the naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon's assessment of the Indian as an inferior. In an 1802 correspondence to Brother Handsome Lake, a Seneca war chief, Jefferson declared the United States would not force Indians to sell their land, nor allow private citizens to purchase directly from the tribes. This promise became federal law that same year.[4]



When Samuel Lewis published this map as "The Travellers Guide" in 1819, Missouri's application for statehood was still pending before Congress. Two years later, it would be the first state to enter the union that was entirely west of the Mississippi in the Louisiana Purchase. *(Image: Cartography Associates)*

Jefferson's ideas on white-Indian relations came not only from his own experiences and ideas but also from previous presidential strategies and English and American legislation. Section IX of the Articles of Confederation granted Congress the sole right to manage all dealings, including trade, with the Indians, as long as it did not supersede the rights of the individual states. The Ordinance for the Regulation and Management of Indian Affairs in 1786 established three Indian districts governed by superintendents responsible for implementing government policy. Article III in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 read,

> The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent . . . they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall … be made for …

Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707-1788), influenced at least two generations of naturalists through his writings while the head of the Jardin du Roi (now the Jardin des Plantes) in Paris. He was also a proponent of monogenism, thinking that all races came from a common origin, which influenced some thinkers in their work on Indian relations. *(Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)*

preserving peace and friendship with them.[5]

To those who followed the Jefferson ideal, the Indians also had inalienable rights, among them life, liberty, and especially, property.

After the United States adopted the Constitution in 1789, Congress continued the policies begun under the Articles. The only other important legislation dealing with Native Americans in the last decade of the eighteenth century was the Intercourse Act of 1790, which forbade trading with Indians unless a private citizen obtained a trading license, issuable only by the president, Secretary of War, or one of the Indian Affairs superintendents. The statute also prohibited committing crimes against, or trespassing upon, any "friendly" Indians or their property, and more importantly, disallowed any private citizen or state from purchasing land from Natives. Another Intercourse Act in 1802, urged upon Congress by Jefferson and based loosely on King George III of England's Proclamation of 1763, set the final stage for American-Indian relations until the 1830s. This law established the Mississippi River as the official boundary line between whites and Indians, forbade Americans from hunting or entering the western territory without prior permission, prohibited white settlement upon Indian lands, and established the death penalty for the killing of an Indian. It also forbade anyone except a duly authorized government agent from forging treaties with the Natives, and it transferred power in dealing with the Indians from Congress to the president, granting the executive branch the sole discretion to deal with indigenous peoples as that office saw fit. While some of the provisions in the act changed after the Louisiana Purchase, the last two points remained in full effect, explaining why presidential policy was so important to Indians.[6]

Legislatively, Jefferson's proposal for voluntary Indian removal became law in March 1804. The Removal Act divided the Louisiana Territory into two governmental regions: one controlled through New Orleans, the other centered in St. Louis. The Act also confirmed the right of the executive branch to establish trading houses in the territory as well as granting Indian leaders food and protection should they so choose to visit the president. Section 15 of this provision granted the president the ability to negotiate with the Indians for land east of the Mississippi in exchange for land west of the river, provided the tribe remove itself and settle on the new property. In doing so, the tribe placed itself under protection of the United States and therefore could no longer enter into agreements with any other foreign power, state, or individual. The transactions were voluntary; there is no mention of compulsion of any kind. This legislation served as the basis for Indian removal until 1830 when it was replaced, at the behest of President Andrew Jackson, with an act that gave the federal government the legal power to remove to the west those tribes who refused to relocate under the 1804 law.[7]

The Osage was the major tribe in Missouri, and it had a reputation among the Spanish and surrounding Natives as both fearsome warriors and uncooperative neighbors. Despite white fears to the contrary, however, the various Osage tribes proved receptive to American overtures. The estimated non-Indian population living in Missouri in 1804 was 6,500 whites, with a potential 2,000 available for militia duty, as well as 1,380 slaves. There were various estimates as to the number of Osage still residing in Missouri, but it was generally believed to be at least equal to the white population, not including thousands of Natives from other nations within the borders. Americans wanted closer ties with the Osage, not only for the lucrative fur trade but also because both Spain and Great Britain actively sought alliances with them. The threat of European interference from both of those empires was a real and tangible fear that overshadowed the first ten years of Osage-American relations in Missouri.[8]

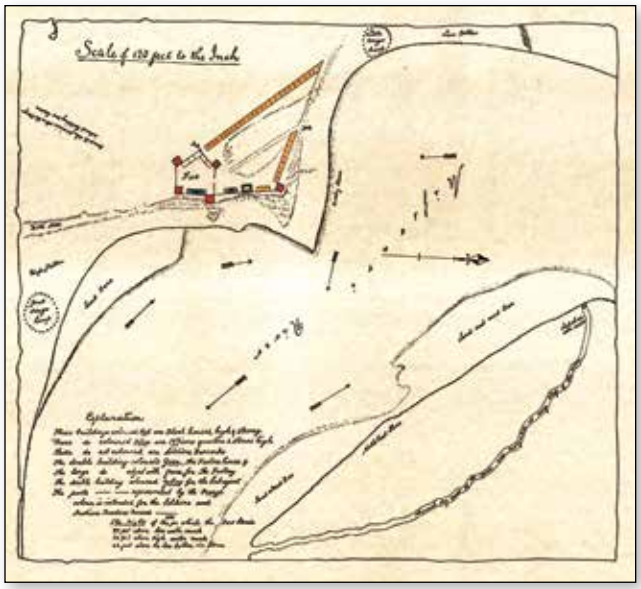
After meeting with several key Osage leaders in July 1804, Jefferson promised a trading factory[9] for the Osage. The factory system began in March 1795 when Congress authorized trading houses to supply the Natives with goods in return for furs. The factories appropriated the Indian trade from the private business sector and ostensibly placed it exclusively in the hands

The Northwest Ordinance is among the most significant documents in American constitutional history, in that it established a model for organizing western territories that became the foundation for western settlement. That settlement also put the United States government in conflict with the tribes already living there. *(Image: Library of Congress)*

of the government. Designed to secure the friendship and goodwill of the Indians, factories enabled the government to limit Native access to alcohol and some firearms. By law, factory traders provided quality goods to the Indians at cost, a rule not applied to the private businessmen who overcharged the Indians whenever possible. Factories also became bloodless weapons by withholding goods from hostile tribes, thus providing the blueprint for economic sanctions.[10]

The executive branch had exclusive power over the factories, empowered to place them anywhere in the United States and hire agents to run them. The agents reported to the Treasury Department, swore oaths of scrupulousness, were required to keep accurate records, and, beginning in 1806, to file quarterly reports. Never designed as a permanent solution, the factory system required periodic approval from Congress to continue operations. The Trading House Act of 1806 authorized the president to establish factories outside the borders of the United States and directly preceded the establishment of factories in Missouri. To Jefferson, the trading house program was the essential lynchpin for the success of his voluntary Indian removal policy. In a letter to Indiana Territory Governor William Henry Harrison dated February 27, 1803, the president outlined his goals by alluding to the public record, but informing the governor that because this communique "—being unofficial and private, I may with safety give you a more extensive view of our policy respecting the Indians."[11]

In this letter, Jefferson explained to Harrison that in order to achieve the goal of "perpetual peace with the Indian," the United States must pursue friendly relations and do everything legally and morally possible to protect them from injuries inflicted on them by Americans. It was imperative, Jefferson continued, that the Indians become civilized farmers (men) and weavers (women). To become farmers, the government must induce the Indians to leave their vast hunting and gathering territory to accept small



When the Jefferson administration authorized the creation of Fort Osage, Indian Agent William Clark traveled west to meet with the Osage, sign a treaty, and establish the fort. The original fort was Clark's design, pictured here. *(Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)*

parcels of private property. The best way to achieve this goal was through trading houses established by men of probity. The goal of these trading houses, he explained, was not profit but rather to ensure Indian reliance on white goods. Either the Natives would use the tools of civilization wisely as farmers or become so indebted by their reliance on American goods that their only recourse would be to sell tribal lands. In this way, tribes either would join the United States as citizens or trade land in the east for land west of the Mississippi River. This policy of indebting the Indians in order to induce them to move, Jefferson asserted, was the humane way of solving the problem of uncivilized Indians within the nation's borders.[12]

Between 1808 and 1822 Missouri had five factories: Fort Osage, Arrow Rock (near the Osage River), Belle Fontaine (near St. Louis), Marais de Cygnes (near Missouri's western border), and Fort Johnson (near Hannibal). The items Indians most desired included blankets, jewelry, rouge (war paint), kitchen utensils, groceries (salt, sugar, flour, raisins, tea, coffee), drugs and medicines, tobacco, pipes, guns, and powder. While the factories offered agricultural supplies, few tribes took advantage of them. The Indians could purchase anything they desired from the factories, with the exception of playing cards and alcohol, by placing an order with the trading agent. To pay for the purchase of desired goods, Indians in Missouri provided all types of furs and pelts.[13] Natives also produced goods that many Americans desired, such as deer tallow, bear oil, beeswax, feathers, snakeroot, lead, maple sugar, cattle, cotton, corn, feather mats, buffalo horns, deer antlers, and handicrafts. The Osage buffalo tallow candles, for example, were so popular that even the White House in Washington used them.[14]

The first factory in Missouri at Fort Belle Fountaine, or Bellefountaine, located about fifteen miles west of St. Louis, opened in 1805. Fort Belle Fountaine was also the first factory west of the Mississippi River, and the first American fort as well. Designed to serve the needs of the Sac and Fox, Ioway, and Osage tribes, it proved too distant from any of those tribes to conduct regular trade. In addition, raids against each other, as well as white settlements, continued by all three tribes during their treks to and from the factory. To separate the tribes, the War Department authorized the building of two new factories closer to each Native settlement, Fort Madison in Iowa, and Fort Osage in Missouri.[15]

The responsibility for implementation of this policy fell to America's most famous explorers. In 1807, Meriwether Lewis became governor of the Louisiana Territory, and William Clark became a brigadier general and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for all tribes west of the Mississippi, with the exception of the Osage. Lewis, however, was little interested in tribal affairs and gladly let Clark deal with the Natives. Thus began Clark's long and illustrious career as America's premier Indian diplomat. Clark's job was not an easy one, for he constantly had to deal with tensions, sometimes even outright violence, between western tribes and newly arrived natives form the east.[16]

The purpose of Fort Osage was, like all factories, to cement Native reliance upon the United States. Since the Osage tribes lived exclusively west of the Mississippi, the intention was not to entice them to move but rather to cede

Fort Osage remained an Indian trade factory site until Congress disbanded the factory system in 1822. The original fort in Sibley, Missouri, east of present-day Kansas City, has been recreated by Jackson County Parks. *(Image: Jean De Moss)*

their claims to land in Missouri so that eastern tribes could settle there. Both Governor Lewis and the Secretary of War also instructed Clark to stop the Osage from conducting raids on whites and other tribes. The new superintendent believed the threat of ending the trade upon which that tribe depended for survival would be sufficient enticement to accomplish this daunting task.[17]

William Clark authored more Indian treaties than any other individual in American history. The first one was with the Osage in 1808. With this treaty, the Osage ceded three quarters of the land that comprised Missouri to the United States. As a Superintendent of Indian Affairs, William Clark had full authority to conduct negotiations with all Indians in the Louisiana Purchase Territory and forward any agreements reached to Congress for approval. Between 1808 and 1825, he negotiated five more treaties with the Osage in Missouri.[18]

When 1808 began, the Osage were at war with the Western Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, Sioux, Ioways, and Sacs and Foxes. Clark, charged with maintaining peace in Missouri, moved to St. Louis to end the fighting. The frontier town suited the superintendent well, and he remained a citizen of that city for the rest of his life, even after retiring from government service. For the present, however, he was frustrated with the Osage's unwillingness to end their raids against other tribes. This constant raiding among the Indians sometimes spilled over and involved white settlers, encouraging the first public rumblings against Indian removal from the Missouri Valley. At the urging of Frederick Bates, Secretary of the Louisiana Territory and later second governor of the state of Missouri, the president reluctantly agreed to military retaliation for the first time against the Osage. Governor Lewis, anxious to maintain peace, sent a message to several Osage chiefs informing them that if raids did not stop, trade between the two nations would cease and their tribe with the declared outside of the United States' protection. Due to the high profitability of the Osage fur trade, the American government until this time had done everything short of military involvement to discourage attacks. With this missive, however, Governor Lewis let the Osage know he was willing to ignore attacks on the Big and Little by the many enemy tribes that surrounded the Osage.[19]

To avoid forced military involvement, Superintendent Clark quickly proceeded with his plans to build a factory close to the Osage. A firm Jeffersonian, he believed the quickest and best way to end Native raids was irrevocably to bind them to economic dependence on the federal government. He was also concerned about the influence of the British, whose traders had for years surreptitiously made overtures to the Osage, and the Spanish, who, although their influence had greatly waned, still posed a threat of alliance with Native tribes in the area. In August 1808, Clark, along with a military force under the command of Daniel Boone's son, Nathan, and the man the superintendent chose to run the factory, a fellow believer in the Jeffersonian ideal, George Sibley, arrived at the bluff on the Missouri River described in the Lewis and Clark expedition journals five years earlier.[20]

While the fort and factory were under construction in September 1808, invitations to trade at the post were sent to Natives from several surrounding tribes, including the Osage, Kansa, Oto, Maha, Pawnee, Sioux, Ioway, and Sac and Fox. At first, only the Osage responded. On September13, eighty Osage arrived from two villages, and Clark immediately held a council with the Indians, with Pierre Chouteau and his friends Paul Loise and Noel Magrain acting as interpreters. Clark explained to the Osage that due to "theft, murder, and robory [*sic*] on the

George Sibley (1782-1863) served as factor at the Indian trade factory embedded in Fort Osage from its founding in 1808 until Congress disbanded the factory system in 1822. It was the only trade factory that showed a profit on every report to Washington. *(Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)*

Citizens of the U.S. in this Territory … I shall propose a line to be run between the U.S. and the Osage hunting lands ….” This line, the superintendent explained, would begin at the fort and run south to the Arkansas River, and all land south of the Missouri River and east of this line would be “given up by the Osage to the U.S. forever.”[21]

The Osage agreed, and everyone met again on September 14 to sign the treaty Clark had written overnight. The superintendent carefully read the provisions of the treaty to the gathered Osage, after which Clark and Sibley, both anxious to preserve the honor and good faith of the United States, independently wrote that the Natives eagerly signed. The twelve articles contained the following provisions: The fort would provide protection to the Osage who dwelt near it, and the factory would provide goods as long as the Natives conducted themselves in a friendly, peaceable, and honest manner toward the citizens of the United States and their allies. No other tribe could trade at the factory unless they had “smoked the Pipe of Peace” with the Osage.[22] Furthermore, the United States agreed to furnish the tribe with a blacksmith and mill, pay the tribes a lump sum for the land as well as a yearly indemnity, minus compensation for any thefts or raid damages caused by members of the tribes, and assume liability for all legal claims made against the Natives.[23]

With his work completed, Clark headed back to St. Louis, leaving the yet-to-be completed fort under command of Captain Eli Clemson and the factory under sole responsibility of George Sibley. However, this first version signed at the fort was never ratified. Several Osage chiefs, including the dominant war chief, Big Soldier, were absent in September. Clark arranged for a meeting with the remaining Osage leaders and presented them with a similar treaty signed at the fort. Because they had never

Besides founding St. Louis with his stepfather, Pierre Laclede, Auguste Chouteau (1749-1829) was among the prominent citizens of St. Louis in the early nineteenth century. He was a dominant figure in the lucrative St. Louis fur trade, so he knew a great deal about the tribes on the lower Missouri River. He was a key source of such information for William Clark and Meriwether Lewis before leaving on their trek in 1804 as well. *(Image: Henry Hyde and Howard Conard, Encyclopedea of the History of St. Louis, 1899; Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)*

been defeated in battle, many of the remaining Osage were reluctant. It took a year and the threat of a trade embargo to convince the remaining chiefs to sign. The main difference between the two versions was the addition of a few more miles to the Osage territory around the fort, and the removal of a special, and illegal, land grant for himself that Pierre Chouteau had included when transcribing the original treaty. Congress ratified the second treaty in 1810, and with it the American government purchased, at about ten cents an acre, fifty thousand square miles of land that included three-quarters of Missouri and the northern half of Arkansas. The only land the Osage still retained exclusively for themselves in Missouri was a band fifty

miles wide running vertically along the western border from the Missouri River to the Arkansas border.[24]

President Jefferson, finishing his last remaining months in office, believed his plan for voluntary Indian removal was unfolding successfully, and his successor, James Madison, was content to continue his predecessor's policy. The white population west of the Mississippi River grew fast. In 1810 there were 20,845 American citizens, concentrated mainly around New Orleans and St. Louis. In Missouri, Clark's expectations of a cessation of intertribal fighting did not take place. While the Osage had agreed to give up settling the eastern portion of the region, they still claimed hunting rights in the Ozarks, and bands of hunters often could not resist raiding the settlements of relocated eastern tribes. Some of the immigrant tribes conducted raids of their own. In 1810, for example, a band of Potawatomis killed four Americans near Boone's Lick, Missouri. At Fort Osage, close to five thousand Indians gathered to live and trade, and as tribes historically hostile to the Big and Little arrived, tensions flared. A tribe of one thousand Kansa Indians proved so violent and insolent that Sibley barred them from the factory. Others who had "smoked the Pipe of Peace" with the Osage and thus were allowed to trade included Otoes, Mahas, Pawnees, Missourias, Sioux, Ioways, and even Sacs and Foxes. Not all of the Osage were happy living among so many former enemies, however, and in 1811 many of them moved south to live along the Marias des Cygnes River. During this same year, Clark allowed the Osage to attack Ioway tribes who harassed white settlers north of the Missouri River. Even the peaceful Shawnee living along the Mississippi River were beginning to be viewed with suspicion, especially when it became known that Tecumseh, a war chief allied with the British in the Ohio Valley, had visited the settlements attempting to recruit warriors. The Missouri Shawnee rejected the overtures, however, preferring to live in peace with their white neighbors.[25]

Despite occasional horse and property theft, Indian attacks on whites in Missouri before the War of 1812 were rare. In 1806, two Kickapoo were hanged in St. Louis for killing an American near the Osage River. While a third Indian was implicated, President Jefferson's policies forbade the execution of more than two Natives for the killing of one white. In 1809, President Monroe pardoned two Sac Indians on the recommendation of William Clark in return for a promise by the tribe for better behavior in the future. Whites who killed Indians did not face indictment, although Clark often paid the injured tribe an indemnity against any future retaliation. Unless it affected trade or white settlements, the government ignored Indian-on-Indian violence in the territory except when the Natives themselves sought legal aid. This supplication for white justice happened nine times before Missouri statehood, and, in two cases in 1806, resulted in execution. This lack of concern by the majority of whites only encouraged intertribal violence. As the white population continued to grow and expand, however, they invariably became the target for more and more raids.[26]

By 1811, the Jeffersonian ideal of peaceful, voluntary removal from the east to the west, where the Indians would become farmers, still seemed a viable goal. Already, several tribes had relocated to Missouri, which now was home not only to the Osage, but also the Kaskaskia (an Illini tribe), Ioway, Delaware, Shawnee, Sac, Fox, Miami, Kickapoo, Wea, and even some Cherokee along the southern border. Trade at Fort Osage was brisk and relatively free of problems. Although there were white settlers in the territory, there were not enough to cause many clashes with the relocated and resident Natives. There were, however, storm clouds gathering on the horizon. British traders, indifferent to Jefferson's plans, countered much of the factory's influence. Jay's Treaty of 1794 allowed British traders to ply their goods on American soil as long as they obeyed federal law. The British often hinted, or even told the Natives, that the United States wanted to take all of their lands. In addition, they often supplied superior goods, were willing to extend credit, and would trade whiskey. The latter two were not allowed in the American system.[27]

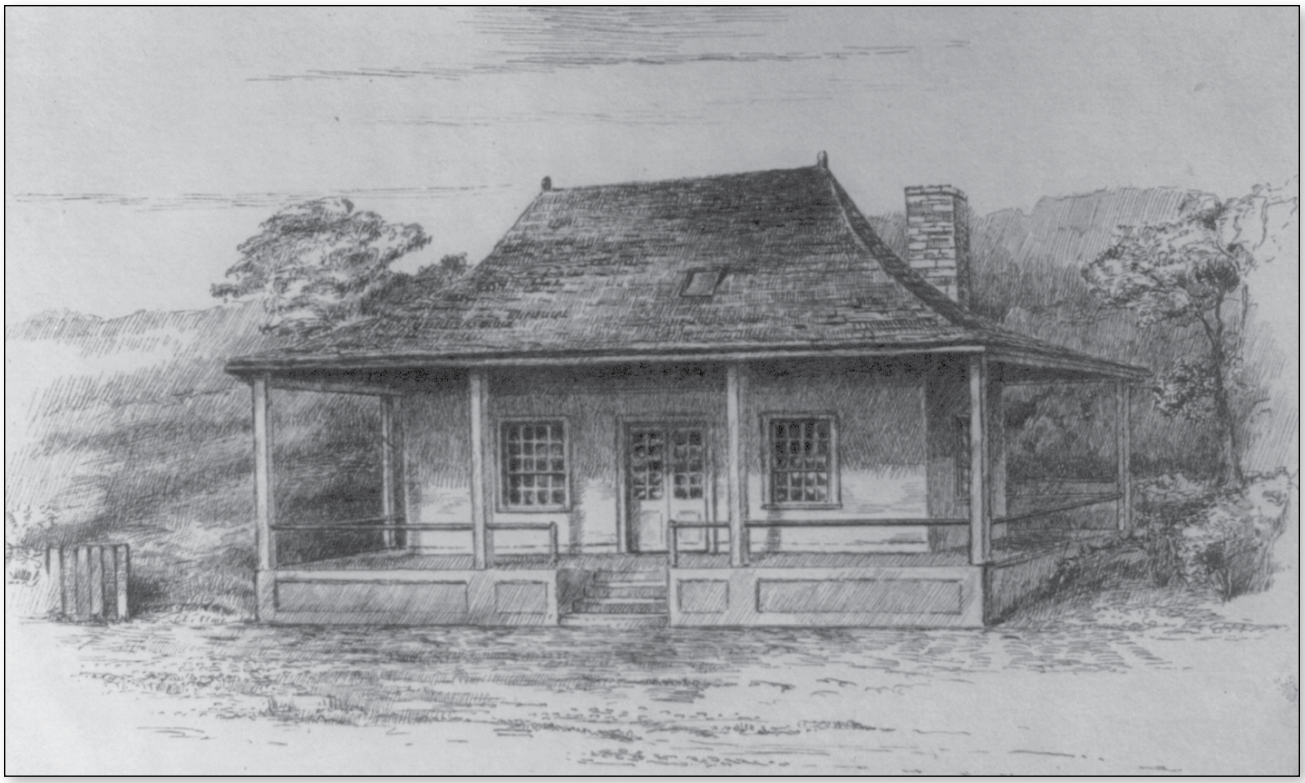
Although government factories were essential to indebt the Indians, private traders, once they obtained a license, could also trade with the Natives. The competition created a problem because the factories were necessary to the Jefferson ideal to "civilize" the Natives, while private traders were only interested in profit. In Missouri, the dominant traders were Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, Manuel Lisa, Joseph Robidoux (founder of St. Joseph), and John Jacob Astor, who was quickly growing in influence and wealth. These private traders, especially Astor, were a greater threat to the Jeffersonian factory system than the British. When Congress finally ended the factory system in 1822, it also destroyed any hope of achieving the Jeffersonian ideal.[28]

By 1811, the British military also posed a threat to Jefferson's plans. The failure by the United States economically or militarily to enforce peace gave many tribes the false idea that the English would support traditional Native existence. As Great Britain attempted to draw different tribes across the Ohio Valley and Old Northwest into an alliance against the United States, Superintendent Clark and others were acutely aware of the danger of something similar happening in Missouri. Clark sent George Sibley to the Platte River area to convince the Natives, especially the Pawnee, to continue their friendly relations with the United States. Although the Western Shawnee had rejected Tecumseh's overtures, the superintendent seriously considered "dispersing" the tribe across the territory just in case. The Osage seemed content with their American alliance, but the tribe was notorious for ignoring promises of peaceful cohabitation. The proximity of the Sac and Fox tribes posed an immediate threat to St. Louis. Not only were their settlements near, but many of the Natives had never forgiven the United States for the Treaty of 1804. If war came with Britain, Clark was certain many Sacs and Foxes would ally with America's enemy.[29]

From 1803 to 1811, the Jeffersonian ideal seemed the perfect solution to American-Native relations. The

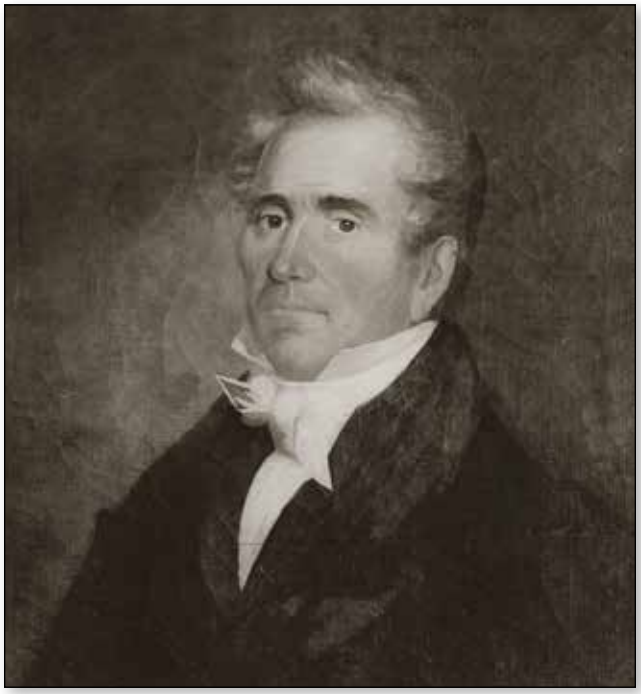
War of 1812 and its aftermath across the Mississippi River basin, however, ended for many the optimistic hope for peaceful coexistence. Even nature itself seemed intent on proclaiming the coming change. On December 16, 1811, and again on February 7, 1812, earthquakes devastated lands along the New Madrid fault line. The powerful shocks were felt as far away as Quebec and New York and caused the Mississippi River to briefly flow

A number of artists traveled from St. Louis westward and portrayed native tribes, but Europeans were fascinated by them as well. They were portrayed here in a French newspaper in 1827. *(Image: State Historical Society of Missouri)*



Manuel Lisa's home in St. Louis was also home for his fur-trading business, competing with the Chouteaus. Lisa had families in both St. Louis and among the Osage. *(Image: Library of Congress)*

backwards. The quakes seemed to mark a watershed for Indian-white relations in Missouri, heralding the end of semi-equanimity and marking the beginning of dominance by those of European descent.[30] In the years following that catastrophic event, the Jefferson ideal of voluntary assimilation rapidly fell apart. The end of the War of 1812 forever ended any British interest in allying with the Indians of the plains; thus, the United States no longer had to compete for cooperation, leaving the Natives little recourse but to accept whatever deal was proposed to them by the whites. The rapid influx of white settlers in the decades after the war quickly overwhelmed the relatively small number of Natives in the Missouri territory. Indian raids were now met with swift and terrible retribution. The disintegration of the relatively benevolent government trade monopoly into the hands of private individuals with almost no interest in the welfare of the Natives quickly destroyed any remaining dignity or culture they might have had left. While Jefferson may or may not have believed in his own plan or whether it was simply the most expedient way to clear tribes from east of the Mississippi is unclear. What is certain is that his immediate successors formulated no better or even a different plan. The result was that within a few short decades, all remaining Indians in Missouri were expelled, forced to move even further westward by a society that defined the words "benevolent plans meritoriously applied" differently from the previous generation.



St. Louis was a remarkably diverse place in some ways in the early nineteenth century. Although founded by French nationals in 1764, it was held by the Spanish until the start of the nineteenth century, then became part of the United States in 1804. Manuel Lisa (1772-1820) ranked as one of St. Louis' prominent Spanish fur traders. *(Image: Missouri History Museum)*

ENDNOTES

[1] James Madison, *James Madison, Writings,* Jack N. Rakove, ed. (New York: The Library of America, 1999), 681.

[2] Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History, volume III* (New York: Random House, 1973), 2140, 2141, 2148.

[3] Willard Hughes Rollings, *Unaffected by the Gospel: Osage Resistance to the Christian Invasion (1673–1906): A Cultural Victory* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 35; Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Indian in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 165-66.

[4] *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, volume 8, 25 February to 31 October, 1785,* eds. Julian P. Boyd, Mina R. Bryan, and Elizabeth L. Hutter (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 184-86; Amy H. Sturgis, *Presidents from Washington through Monroe, 1789-1825* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002), 108-9, 111.

[5] Washburn, *American Indian and the United States*, 2140, 2141, 2148.

[6] Ibid., 2151-63.

[7] U.S. Congress, *An Act Erecting Louisiana into Two Territories, and Providing for the Temporary Government Thereof (a)* (Eighth Congress, 1st Session, Ch. 47, 1804).

[8] William E. Parrish, Charles T. Jones, Jr., and Lawrence O. Christensen, *Missouri: The Heart of the Nation* (St. Louis: Forum Press, 1980), 14; John Joseph Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 402-3; Kristie C. Wolferman, *The Osage in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 60; Indian Claims Commission, *Osage Indians V: Commission Findings on the Osage Indians* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), 116, 120-21; Louis F. Burns, *A History of the Osage People* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 133-34, 144; Fred W. Voget, *Osage Indians I* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), 72.

[9] The factory system, created in 1796, granted the executive branch full control to interact economically, militarily, and legally with all Natives. The word "factory" was used to describe the government-owned and -controlled trading posts. These factories were not places of manufacturing, but outposts around which Indians, not white settlers, could live, trade, and interact with one another and government officials.

[10] Ora Brooks Peake, *A History of the United States Indian Factory System, 1795-1822* (Denver: Sage Books, 1954), 1-3, 45.

[11] *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, volume X,* Andrew A. Lipscomb, ed. (Washington: The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 1904), 369; Peake, *History of the United States Indian Factory System,* 2; Washburn, *American Indian and the United States,* 2164.

[12] *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, v. X,* 368-73.

[13] This list included deer, muskrat, beaver, bear, buffalo, mink, otter, raccoon, bobcat, panther, elk, wolf, fox, porcupine, groundhog, wild hog, and rabbit, all native to the Missouri territory.

[14] Peake, *History of the United States Indian Factory System*, 11, 56-65, 68, 132-34.

[15] Jay H. Buckley, *William Clark: Indian Diplomat* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 72-73.

[16] Buckley, *William Clark*, 66, 69-70, 72, 113; John Upton Terrell, *The Six Turnings: Major Changes in the American West, 1806-1834* (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1968), 50; *The Territorial Papers of the United States, volume XIV, 1806-1814,* Clarence Edwin Carter, ed. (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1949), 108-9.

[17] Indian Claims Commission, *Osage Indians V,* 114-16, 135, 137; Mathews, *Osages,* 389.

[18] Burns, *History of the Osage People*, 167-68, 370.

[19] Wolferman, *Osage in Missouri*, 62-64; Burns, *History of the Osage People*, 145.

[20] Burns, *History of the Osage People,* 145; Landon Y. Jones, *William Clark and the Shaping of the West* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 165-66; William Clark,

Westward With Dragoons: The Journal of William Clark On His Expedition to Establish Fort Osage, August 25 to September 22, 1808, Kate L. Gregg, ed. (Fulton, Mo.: The Ovid Bell Press, Inc., 1937)*,* 13; Buckley, *William Clark,* 73; George Sibley, *Seeking a Newer World: The Fort Osage Journals and Letters of George Sibley, 1808-1811,* Jeffrey E. Smith, ed. (St. Charles: Lindenwood University Press, 2003), 12, 58, 73, 77.

[21] Sibley, *Seeking a Newer World*, 77-79; Clark, *Westward With Dragoons,* 38-39.

[22] Clark, *Westward With Dragoons, 64-68.*

[23] Sibley, *Seeking a Newer World*, 80-81; Clark, *Westward With Dragoons,* 64-68; Buckley, *William Clark,* 75-76.

[24] Indian Claims Commission, *Osage Indians V,* 152, 154; Buckley, *William Clark,* 75-78; Jones, *William Clark and Shaping the West*, 168-69, 176; *The Territorial Papers of the United States, volume XIV,* Clarence Edwin Carter, ed. and comp. (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1948), 224-25; William Clark, *Dear Brother, Letters of William Clark to Jonathan Clark,* James J. Holmberg, ed. (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2002), 154, 157.

[25] Greg Olsen, *The Ioway in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 41, 45; Jones, *William Clark and Shaping the West*, 189-90, 196-97; Mathews, *Osages,* 394; Sibley, *Seeking a Newer World*, 85, 88, 142-43, 154-55, 159, 170; Wolferman, *Osage in Missouri*, 83-84; Stephen Warren, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors, 1795-1870* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 79-80; Clark, *Dear Brother,* 259.

[26] Harriet C. Frazier, *Death Sentences in Missouri, 1803-2005* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2006), 11-12.

[27] Wolferman, *Osage in Missouri,* 3, 76; Buckley, *William Clark,* 103.

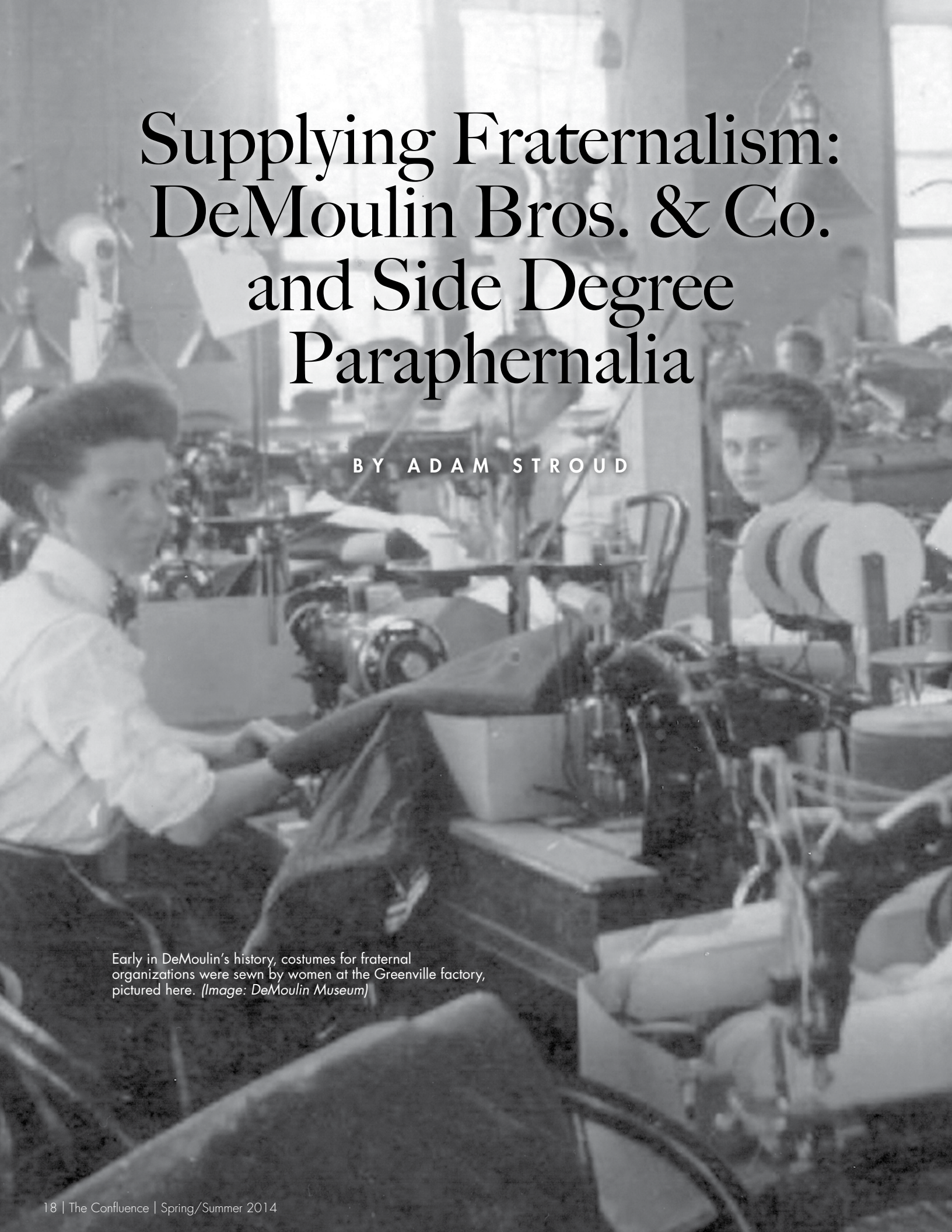
[28] Sibley, *Seeking a Newer World,* 511, 161, 120, 133, 174-75.

[29] Mathews, *Osages*, 401-3; Clark, *Dear Brother,* 259.

[30] Stephen Aron, *American Confluence: The Missouri Frontier from Borderland to Border State* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 148-50; Jones, *William Clark and Shaping the West*, 201; Buckley, *William Clark,* 125.

Supplying Fraternalism: DeMoulin Bros. & Co. and Side Degree Paraphernalia

BY ADAM STROUD



Early in DeMoulin's history, costumes for fraternal organizations were sewn by women at the Greenville factory, pictured here. *(Image: DeMoulin Museum)*

Imagine for a minute that it is 1900, and you have just been admitted into the fraternal organization, the Modern Woodmen of America (MWA). You have been a member for almost a week, and you already know some of the secrets and rituals that MWA members hold close to their hearts. You approach the meeting hall to attend the next assembly of members. After knocking on the door in a secret rhythm, just as you were instructed, you begin to recite the secret password. But, just before you can say the word, four men open the door and drag you into the dark interior of the building. They bind your hands and lower you into a guillotine, and they begin to question you about your organization's secret rituals and passwords. After you are interrogated for several minutes, your fellow Woodmen burst into the room and chase off the imposters.

In all the commotion, you failed to notice the impossibly bright red blood stain on the blade, the ridiculous costumes the men were wearing, and the stopper that would have inhibited the path of the blade…It's just a joke. You passed the test! The men around you shout their approval of your accomplishment by saying, "Grand Officer, we present you this candidate, whom we found a captive of outlaws, and he was going to permit them to take his life rather than reveal to them the secrets of this Order. We recommend him to you as a worthy person for adoption into our Order!"[1]

The fake guillotine was part of the hazing process by some lodges, whereby cloaked men threatened inductees with beheading unless they reveal organizational secrets. The actual guillotine (pictured on page 20) even has red paint to simulate blood on the "blade." *(Image: DeMoulin Museum)*

The fake guillotine was a favorite side-degree tool for prankish ceremonies—right down to the bright red "blood" on the "blade." *(Image: DeMoulin Museum)*

There is a good chance that DeMoulin Bros. & Company in Greenville, Illinois, supplied the prank guillotine and other similar devices all over America.

Starting in 1892, DeMoulin Bros. pioneered and dictated an industry that has since faded away from American popular culture—fraternal lodge side-degree paraphernalia. Things that were considered "side-degree" were any ceremonies or rituals that were not sanctioned by the governing bodies of fraternal organizations. Some side-degree rituals were aimed at spicing up initiation ceremonies in order to bolster the lodge's membership and improve meeting attendance. DeMoulin Bros. took on the challenge of inventing and supplying devices such as trick chairs and prank guillotines for these side-degree rituals and ceremonies.

Side-degree paraphernalia is a unique and interesting subject in its own right; however, studying DeMoulin Bros. reveals much more about American popular culture than just guillotines and trick chairs. It is revealed that side-degree paraphernalia and fraternal lodge expenses consumed a significant portion of late-Victorian household income. Males were the largest contributors to this industry, which challenges assumptions about male consumption patterns and exposes a movement away from a moderate Victorian lifestyle.

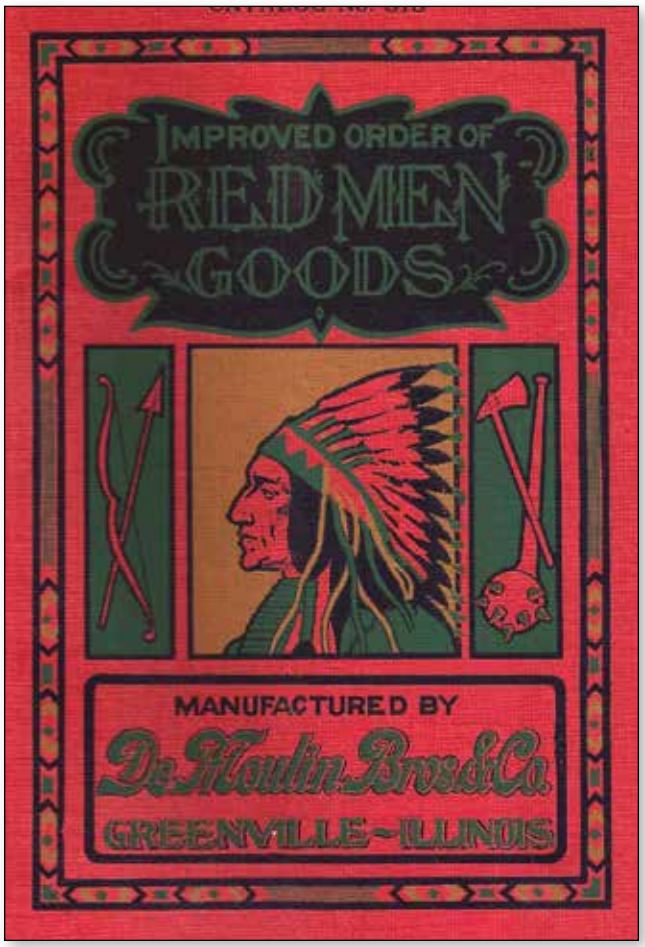
DeMoulin Bros. and Fraternalism

DeMoulin Bros., located in the town of Greenville, used many of the same manufacturing and advertising strategies as bigger companies. It sold unique and highly specialized products, and the owners of DeMoulin made millions doing it. The most accurate story about the conception of DeMoulin Bros. goes something like this:

In 1890, William A. Northcott, officer of the Venerable Counsel of the Modern Woodmen of America (MWA), approached Greenville businessman Ed DeMoulin with a business proposition. Northcott sought to increase the membership of the organization by employing DeMoulin to dream up and construct devices that made lodge initiation ceremonies more eventful. Northcott helped fund the operation from the start until Ed DeMoulin's brother, Ulysses, purchased his shares. When this transaction took place, Ulysses demanded that Northcott throw in the contact names and addresses for the MWA camps as part of the deal. Ulysses suggested that if the list was gone when Northcott returned from lunch, nobody would blame him for its disappearance. The story ends with Northcott returning from lunch to find that Ulysses was gone, along with the list of MWA camps.[2]

In its early years, the company was helped off the ground by local investors, but within a few years it was selling to multiple fraternal organizations all over the United States. The first large contract that DeMoulin Bros. received was in 1893, for 600 drill team axes for the Southern Illinois Modern Woodmen of America. In 1896, the company expanded its market nationally when it ordered 6,000 80-page catalogs and mailed them to each of the 4,500 MWA camps in America. Business was booming and the creative instincts of the DeMoulin brothers were supplying America's obsession with fraternalism.

Some fraternal and benevolent orders were such large customers that DeMoulin Bros. even provided catalogues with special covers for them, like this one for the Improved Order of Red Men. *(Image: DeMoulin Museum)*



During the Golden Age of Fraternity, roughly 1870-1920, an astounding one in five Americans belonged to fraternal organizations.[3] This range of years has been assigned the title "Golden Age" because it represents the height of fraternal membership; and after this period, there was a sharp decline in the number of organizations and members. There are several sociological explanations for the growth of fraternalism in the United States. Walter Nichols' 1917 study attributed this unification of men into organizations to the human instinct for family and common welfare.[4] Arthur Schlesinger posited the notion that Americans sought to form fraternal groups in an effort to create institutions apart from state and federal governments.[5] Other scholars attribute their popularity with Americans to the cheap life insurance that many fraternal groups offered. More than likely, it was a combination of many factors that pushed Americans to join fraternal organizations in the nineteenth century.

Their purposes varied between reading poetry, singing, or providing safe havens for ethnic groups. Mostly, they formed a social environment for their members and provided financial aid to those in need. In 1999, Robert Putnam and Gerald Gamm conducted a study that incorporated 224 city directories from 26 cities and towns.[6] They created a list of 65,761 voluntary associations, of which 30 percent were fraternal or sororal, 28 percent religious, and the rest were strictly social, cultural, or political.[7] The creation of these associations was a phenomenon encompassing both immigrants and nativists, and they existed within most belief systems, including Jews, Christians, and freethinkers, among others. Tocqueville's view that "Americans of all ages, all stations in life, and all types of disposition are forever forming associations" accurately defines fraternalism throughout the nineteenth century.[8]

Insurance was a major element of many fraternal organizations and certainly pushed Americans to jump on the fraternal bandwagon. The notion of common welfare was entrenched in fraternal societies since their creation. The most prominent mutual aid organizations by 1907 were groups such as the Ancient Order of United Workmen, Royal Arcanum, the Knights of Honor, and the Knights of Maccabees.[9]

The social class component of fraternalism is one that has drawn several historians and sociologists to the subject. The impact that the Golden Age of Fraternity had on class structure and social mobility can be narrowed to two broad avenues. In one way, many fraternal groups were egalitarian in that they did accept men and women from various social classes and professions. However, the second avenue for fraternal groups is that they often excluded certain races, ethnicities, professions, and age

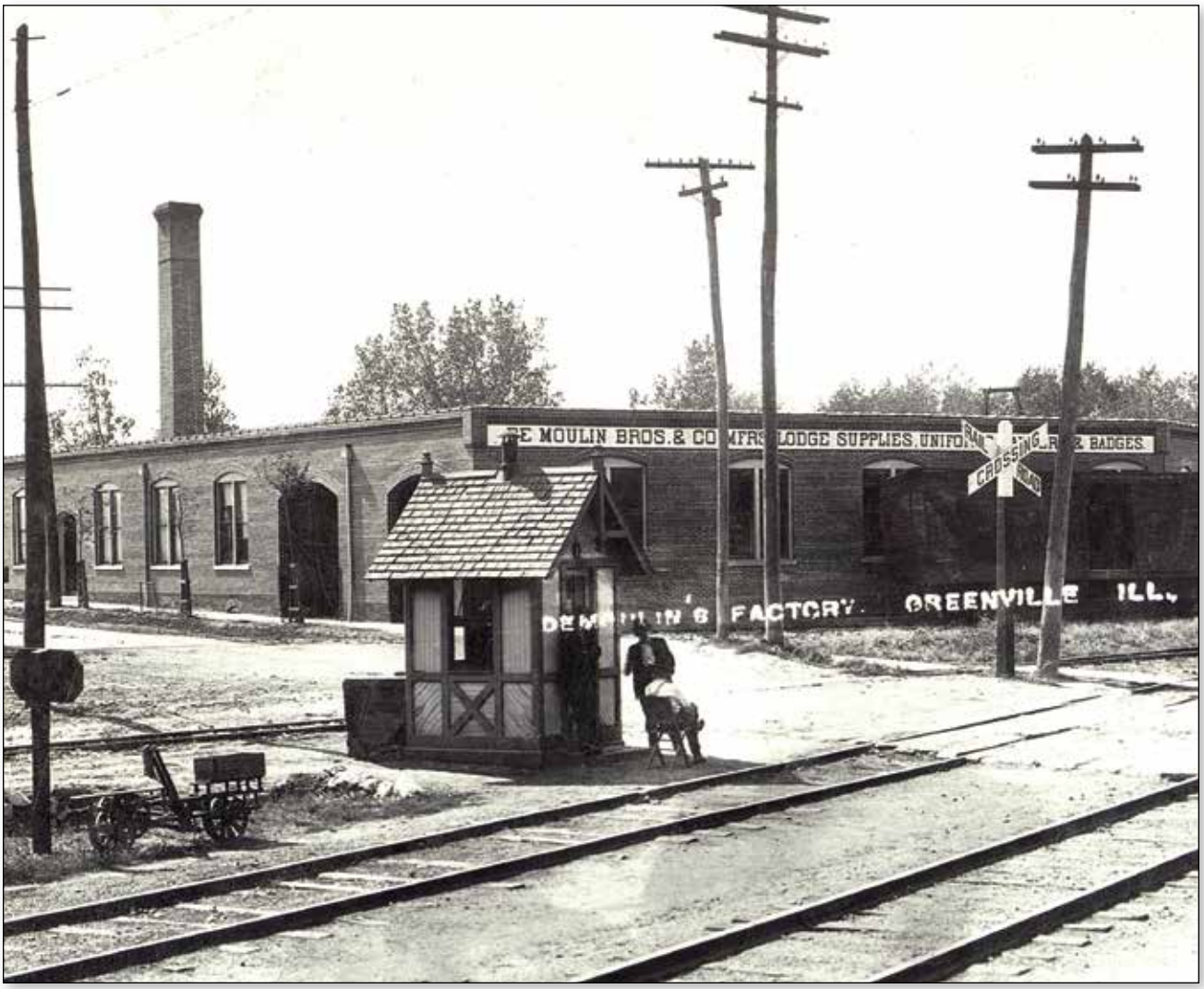
groups. It is completely appropriate to call fraternalism both egalitarian and socially exclusive. Some groups practiced a greater degree of exclusion than others.

An impressive and colorful array of fraternal organizations was created in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Freemasons and Odd Fellows were formed long before the creation of most other organizations, but many more sprouted up all over the United States: groups like Modern Woodmen of America (1883), Improved Order of Red Men (1834), Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks (1868), and many other groups with names associated with various types of wildlife, Biblical, and historical figures.[10]

Fraternalism grew unimpeded in the latter half of the nineteenth century in urban and rural regions. Several companies were created for the sole purpose of supplying fraternal organizations with all that they needed to be fully equipped at meetings or out in public. Uniforms, badges, banners, and pins were an integral part of fraternal culture and appearance. These items were a source of pride for the organizations and a way of advertising their lodge during parades and celebrations. Dr. William D. Moore wrote that there were businesses located in eastern states, but the largest supply firms devoted to the fraternal industry were located in the Midwest. In Gamm and Putnam's massive fraternal study, they discovered that in 1910, small towns (average of 8,000 people) had 6.8 groups per 1,000 people and big cities had around 3.2 groups per 1,000 people.[11] Gamm and Putnam extolled the importance of studying rural fraternalism when they wrote, "After all, many more Americans at the turn of the century lived in Boises (1890 population, 2,311) than in Bostons (1890 population, 448,477)".

It is no surprise that the small town that raised the DeMoulin brothers undertook the task of spicing up fraternal lodge meetings. The location of these businesses

By 1907, Ed DeMoulin owned and operated this factory in Greenville, Illinois, to service a national market for lodge paraphernalia. *(Image: DeMoulin Museum)*



is evidence of the popularity of fraternalism among rural Americans. M.C. Lilley in Ohio, Pettibone Brothers in Ohio, Henderson-Ames in Michigan, and Ward-Stilson in Indiana were a few of the biggest companies. DeMoulin Bros. was a minor participant in the fraternal supply industry overall, but its side-degree paraphernalia was unmatched in quality and inventiveness.[12]

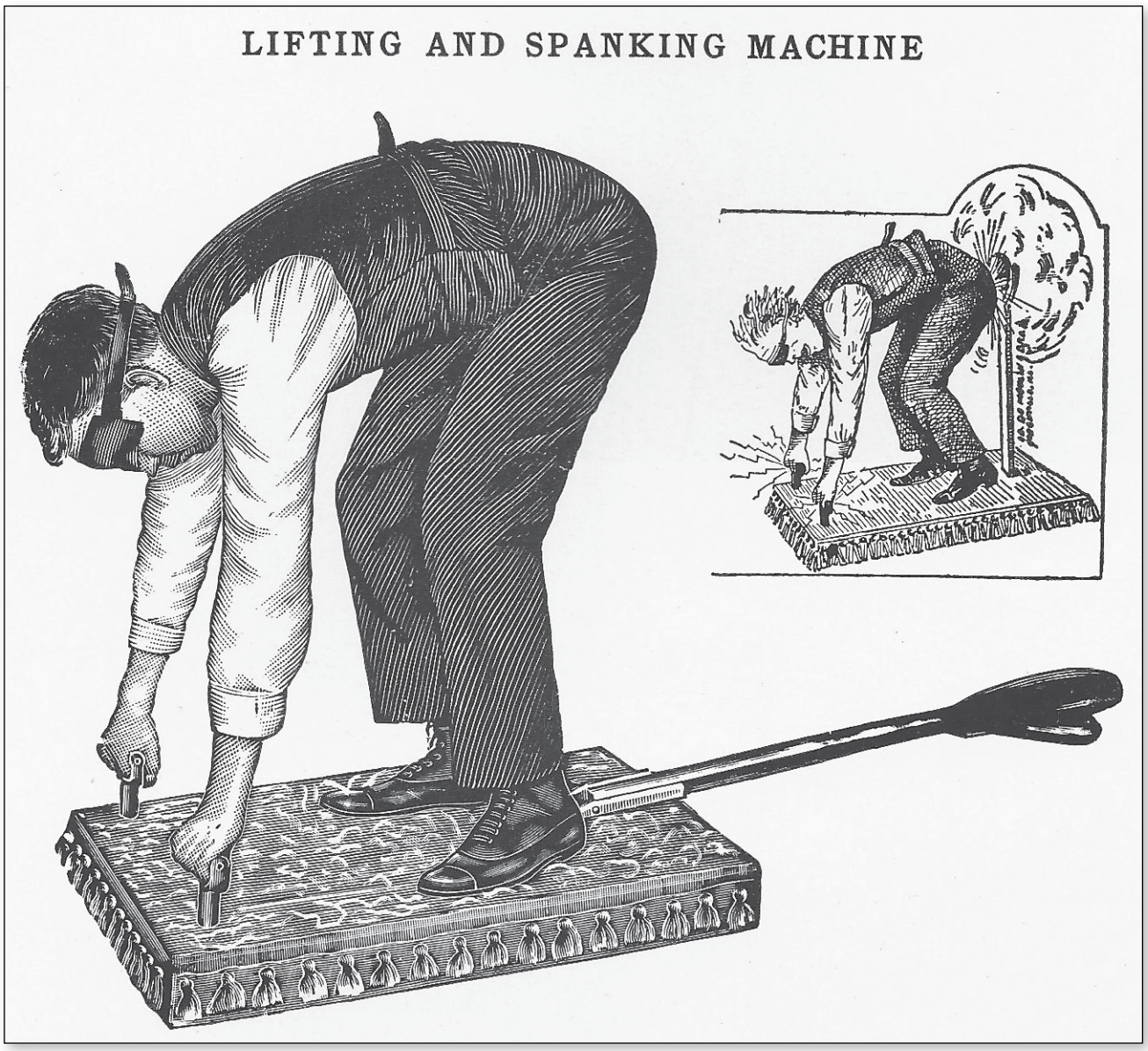
Side-Degree Paraphernalia and Male Consumption

"Side degree," in *The International Encyclopedia of Secret Societies & Fraternal Orders,* is defined as an unofficial group existing within a fraternal organization.[13] Side degree practices simply existed next to or beside the regular degrees of a given fraternal group. Tests of courage and dedication, just like the one described earlier, certainly qualified as side degree behavior. Special interest groups involved in charitable or activist happenings that were not established by organization laws were also included in the side degree designation. Buying devices for testing bravery and pranking materials added to the expenses of organizations and their members.

Male consumers in the late nineteenth century were generally overlooked, while their female counterparts were placed in the spotlight by advertisements. However, Mark A. Swiencicki wrote that a higher percent of late-nineteenth-century working-class household income went toward male rather than female consumption.[14] In consumer reports from that time period, items like lodge paraphernalia, uniforms, workout gear, haircuts, shaves, and theater and saloon spending were not recorded as "consumer goods."[15] Swiencicki also looked at the percentage of ready-made clothing that was consumed by males in the late 1800s. In 1890, males consumed 71 percent of all ready-made clothing, and that does not include lodge uniforms or ceremonial costumes. He claimed that nearly 27 percent of working-class household disposable income went toward the husband's social expenses.[16] These findings show that working-class white men made up a larger percentage of consumer culture than their female counterparts, and a significant part of their expenses was attributed to lodge dues, the purchase of uniforms, and insurance premiums.

Working-class men made up nearly 35 percent of fraternal members, leaving nearly 65 percent of members to other social groups. These other groups also paid lodge dues, bought uniforms, and purchased lodge regalia. By the early 1900s, DeMoulin Bros. had a workforce that consisted mostly of women; the workers made a product that was almost entirely consumed by male lodge members. So much for the notion that women consumed goods while men created them.[17] Fraternalism undoubtedly made up a large portion of total male consumption during the Golden Age of Fraternity. Lodge regalia and side-degree paraphernalia was a large industry that was supported by American men of various social classes, and DeMoulin Bros. was at the forefront of one of the most intriguing divisions of that industry.

As this image from a DeMoulin catalogue suggests, the Order of Red Men had highly romanticized views of Native Americans. *(Image: DeMoulin Museum)*



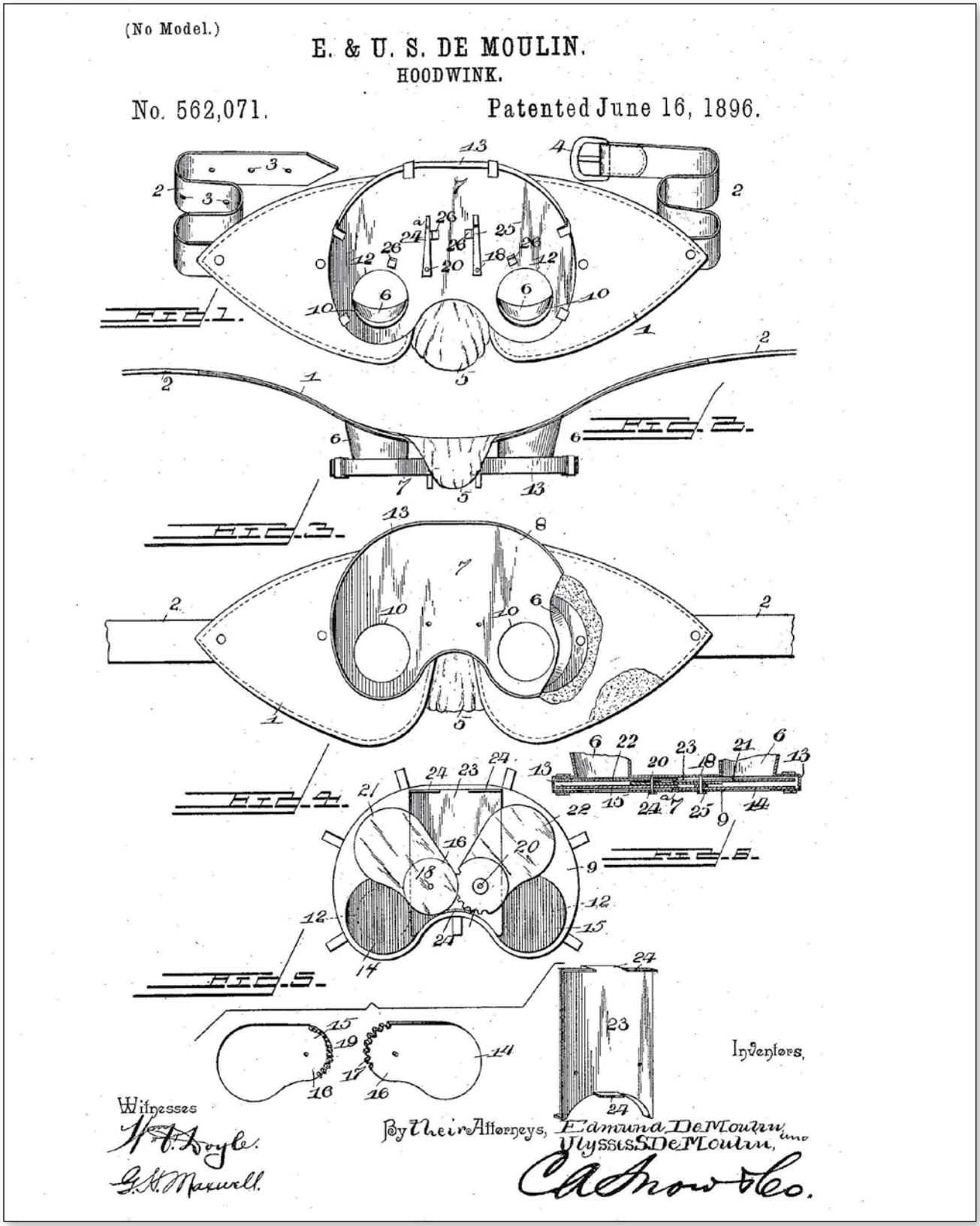
The premise behind the Lifting and Spanking Machine, as pictured in a DeMoulin catalogue here, was that a blindfolded inductee lifted the levers and unwittingly "spanked himself." *(Image: DeMoulin Museum)*

DeMoulin Bros.' Side-Degree Paraphernalia

DeMoulin Bros. exploded onto the scene of the fraternal supply industry in the late 1890s with its successful advertising methods and inventive lodge paraphernalia. As William Moore points out, most of the fraternal supply companies offered basically the same products to a wide variety of organizations.[18] Likewise, DeMoulin created specialized catalogs that were aimed at particular fraternal organizations in the United States. This allowed it to offer similar products to multiple organizations with only a few unique items in each catalog.

Items that were unique to each organization included badges, banners, and uniforms. Typically, there was a uniform for every event an organization attended. For example, the MWA catalog from 1917 contained parade caps, gloves, leggings, buttons, and drill uniforms.[19] The Woodmen were seen in their parade uniforms at fairs and Fourth of July celebrations all over the country in urban and rural settings. The Improved Order of Red Men catalog from 1911 enclosed several different varieties of stereotypical costumes such as Mohawk, Huron, Mohican, and Sioux. Also, unique to the Red Men catalog were tomahawks, war clubs, totems, and wampum belts.

In addition to the uniforms and regalia that were unique to each organization, side-degree paraphernalia was placed toward the back of each catalog. This is where DeMoulin Bros. excelled in the fraternal supply industry.



Edmund and Ulysses DeMoulin patented their famous "hoodwink" in 1896 with this patent drawing. It was used to alter an inductee's vision, first plunging him into total darkness, then allowing him to see a series of screens to change his perceptions of his surroundings through deception—to "hoodwink" him. *(Image: DeMoulin Museum)*

In a Woodman's catalog from 1910, the side-degree items made up nearly one-third of DeMoulins' advertised products. Among the items listed were bucking goats, which was a must-have in lodge side-degree ceremonies. These goats came in several varieties including the Rollicking Mustang Goat, the Ferris Wheel Goat, the Practical Goat (the economical option), and the Humpy Dump, which was a camel-shaped version with the same basic premise. The initiates were rolled around the meeting hall on these goats and then forced to hold on as the operator bucked the false animal back and forth. It was a simple and relatively harmless device that was used to give initiates a ride to remember, and gave the other members some much-needed entertainment after a long day of work.

Some of the devices had self-explanatory names such as Trick Chairs, The Guillotine, and the Superb Lifting and Spanking Machine. The Lifting and Spanking Machine is exactly what the name describes. As mentioned previously, the insurance aspect of many fraternal organizations was a major draw for members, but it also had the potential to be detrimental to the organization's financial well-being. Therefore, physicians often performed physical inspections in order to detect particularly unhealthy and uninsurable recruits. Much to the delight of the DeMoulin brothers, the tedious physical examinations were a perfect opportunity to incorporate prank devices. The Lifting and Spanking Machine appeared to be an ordinary strength test. However, the recruits got a nasty surprise when they were hit with a paddle, stunned by the explosion of a blank cartridge, and occasionally hit with jolts of electricity from the handles on these devices.[20]

A simple but effective device that added to the mystery of the side-degree ceremonies was the hoodwink. Hoodwinks were basically blindfolds with mechanical attachments that altered the recruit's view of the ceremony. The device could be adjusted so that the participant was distracted by extreme brightness or darkness. The DeMoulin brothers were inventors in addition to being manufacturers and business owners. Ed and Ulysses DeMoulin obtained a patent for their unique mechanical hoodwink in 1896. They obtained a total of 32 patents for mechanical initiation devices including several variations of the Lifting and Spanking Machine, hoodwinks, and prank collapsing chairs.[21]

Another of their creations was a device designed to simulate the popular and life-threatening circus stunt of knife throwing. The DeMoulins catalog states that in order to make this stunt work, a spotlight must be placed behind the knife thrower so the initiate was convinced his life was in danger. While the recruit was writhing on the platform, it appeared and sounded as if knives were burying themselves into the wood only inches from his body. Actually, the knives were spring loaded and harmlessly slid out of carefully placed slits in the platform behind the initiate. The convincing sound of metal striking wood was the result of another cunningly placed mechanism. Side-degree items were the foundation for the success of DeMoulin Bros. & Co. They made lodge meetings a form of entertainment and not just another dull responsibility for their members.

The Improved Order of Red Men was one of several benevolent societies created in the nineteenth century; while it claims origins in the Boston Tea Party, the Improved Order dates to 1834. Its rituals, regalia, and costumes derived from what they thought was a Native American motif, such as this costume created by DeMoulin Bros. & Company for the Order. *(Image: DeMoulin Museum)*

Side-Degree Paraphernalia and Victorian Values

Whether the ceremony participants were factory workers or major politicians, dressing up in silly costumes and rolling grown men around on fake goats were not activities that men wanted to be made public. These activities were performed by men who were "hardly the stridently ascetic beings" that late-Victorian men were supposed to embody.[22] Side-degree activities were manifestations of the gradual shift away from Victorian culture and notions of disciplined masculinity. The change was also taking place in the arena of sports, with the ever-increasing popularity of baseball, and it could be seen in the clothing that men wore during lodge meetings and initiations.[23]

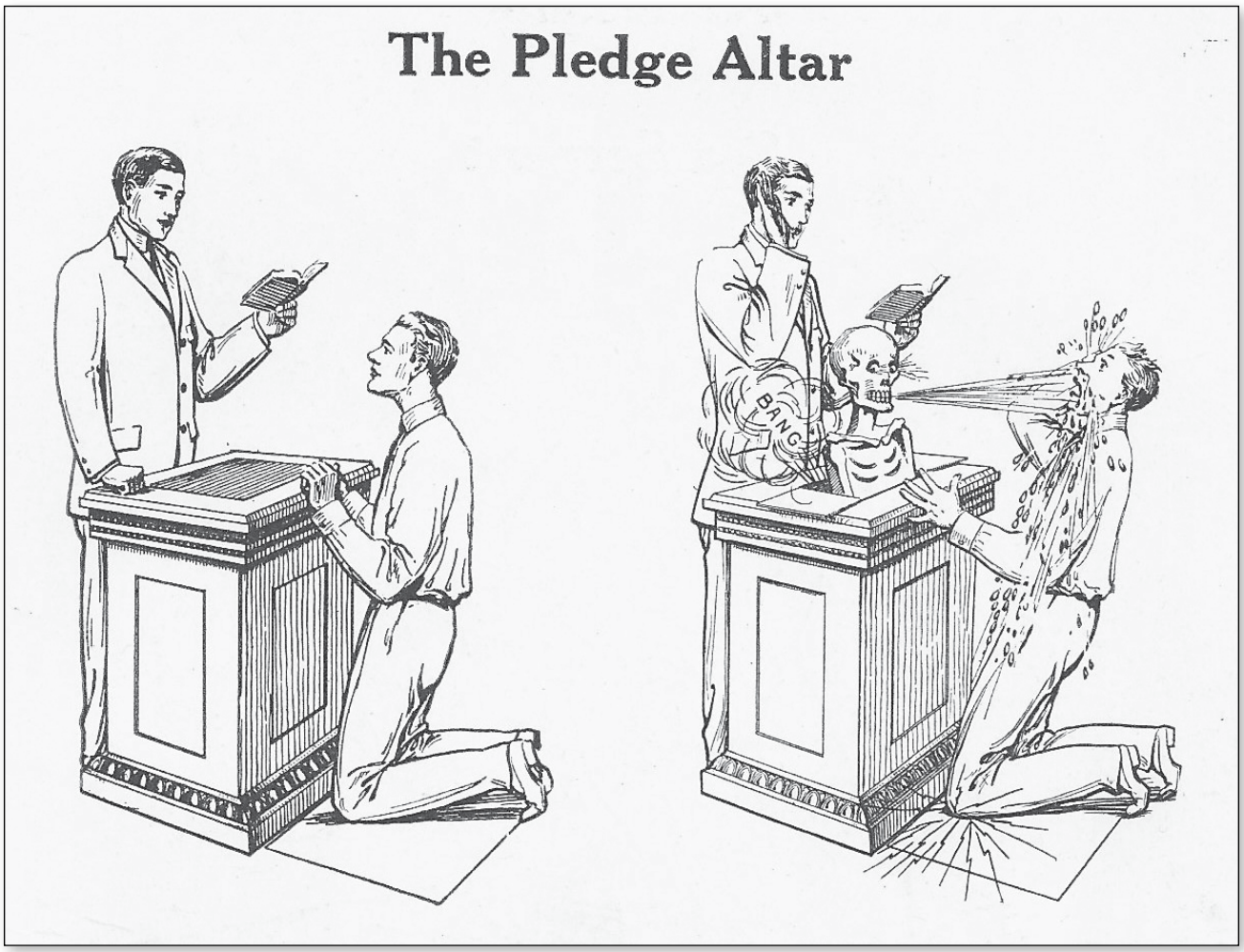
On one hand, some military-style lodge uniforms represented a tough, masculine lifestyle, while lavish costumes, jewelry, banners, and other ornamental items suggested a movement away from male Victorian culture.

Moore looked at this transformation of male behavior and expectations in an article on side-degree paraphernalia. He attributed the popularity of side-degree ceremonies to a desire among industrialized men to shrug off the respectable behavior and serious rituals of the old order. He referenced the old rituals of the Masonic lodges, where notions of death and moral obligations were often present.

Side-degree devices such as the Pledge Altar literally spat in the face of any notions of death or moral obligations. On the outside, it appeared to be an ordinary altar where an initiate could kneel and take an oath. However, in the midst of the recruit's oath, a skeleton would spring out of the altar and squirt water into his face. Moore posits that these silly pranks and tests were hints of a shift away from responsible Victorian behavior. Many American men found that self-restraint and moderation were not suited to the new industrial order. Moore pointed out, "In the new economy of the twentieth century, men [felt the need to] laugh at themselves and their troubles. They had to be able to get up off the ground and chuckle when thrown from a goat."[24]

It makes sense, doesn't it? According to muckraking journalists, this was the age when the working-class man was being trampled on by the robber barons. These were times when many occupations were extremely hazardous, the safe arrival of newborns was not a foregone conclusion, and the best-case scenario for most Americans was to stick around long enough to see their grandchildren. The uncertainty about tomorrow and the cruelty of the industrial age is every bit as good an explanation for the popularity of fraternalism and side-degree behavior as humanity's family instinct or a desire to form a group identity apart from the government. Trick chairs, fake guillotines, and creative ceremonies were expressions of the men who created and used them, and the devices create a pathway into the minds of these industrial age beings. The goats and skeletons begin to make more sense when the information about the time in which they were used is revealed.

The Pledge Altar was a version of the squirting boutonniere used by clowns. In this version, a pledge solemnly kneels, only to be sprayed by water when the official lifts his hand. *(Image: DeMoulin Museum)*



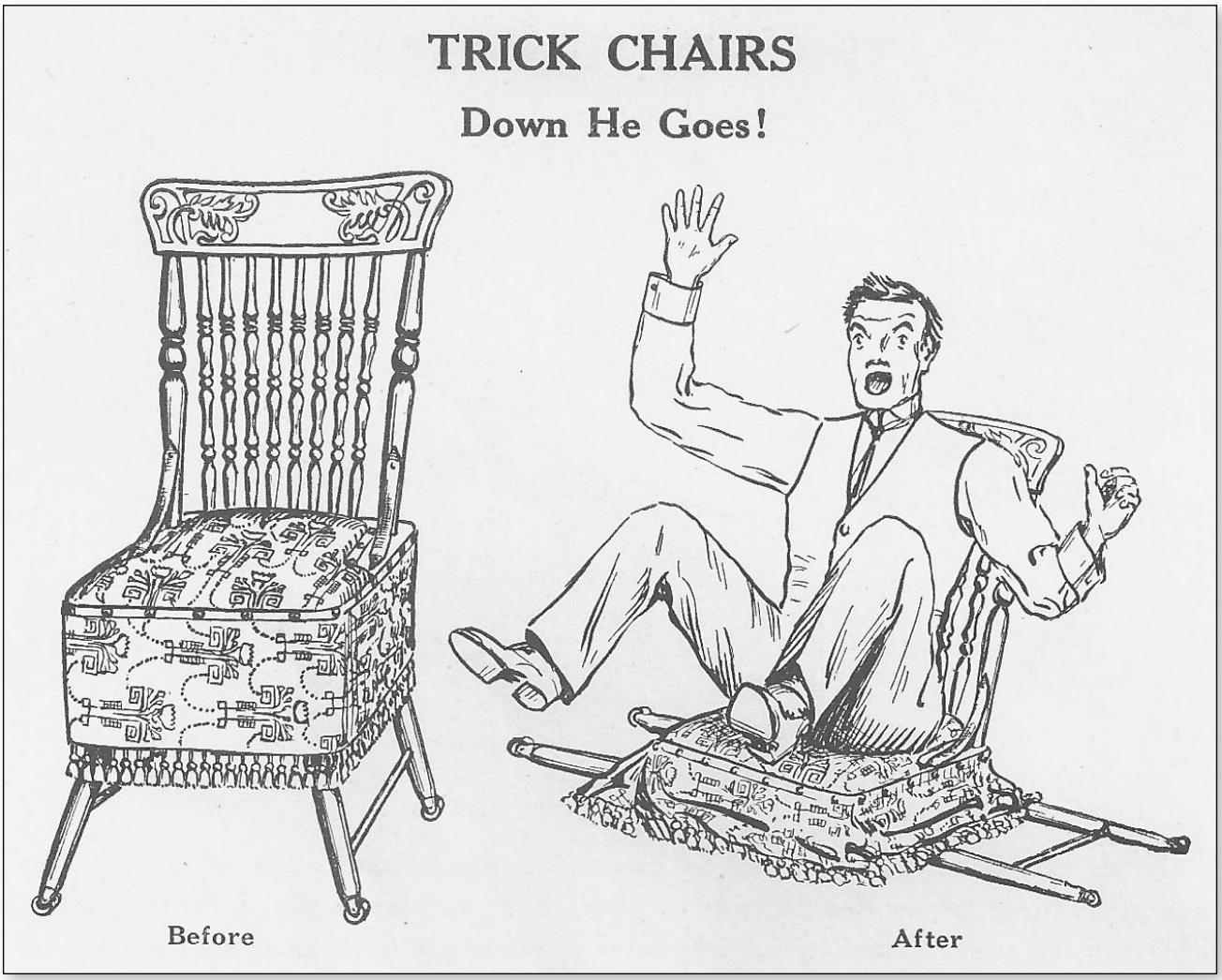
The Decline of Fraternalism and the Transformation of DeMoulin Bros.

The end of the Golden Age of Fraternity was not marked by the destruction of organizations, but rather the redistribution of services that were at one time provided by fraternal groups. For example, one of the biggest labor-oriented fraternal organizations, The Ancient Order of United Workmen (AOUW) saw the vast majority of its state grand lodges merge with other AOUW lodges or reinsured by regular life insurance companies by the 1930s.[25]

Likewise, DeMoulin Bros. shifted the majority of its business away from side-degree paraphernalia, and entered the marching band and military uniform industries. Ed DeMoulin died in 1935, and his death ironically coincided with the sharp decline of fraternalism in America. DeMoulin Bros. & Co. officially withdrew from the side-degree paraphernalia industry in 1955. It was the biggest producer in the industry for the better part of four decades, and the impressive wealth it accumulated is evidence of the popularity of side-degree items and fraternalism overall.

The popularity of DeMoulin Bros.'s products speaks to the willingness of male lodge members to spend their hard-earned cash on luxury items such as goats and costumes. Costs associated with fraternal lodges formed a large part of working-class male expenses, and this challenges ideas held at the time about male consumption patterns. Also, the ridiculousness and popularity of side-degree ceremonies in America suggests that fraternalism created an environment where men could escape common notions of masculinity and Victorian values. DeMoulin Bros. & Co. in Greenville reveals much about a fragment of American popular culture that has been forgotten.

What initiation or hazing would be complete without this? It appears to be normal side chair until an inductee sits down, only to have it collapse beneath his weight—and not much was required. *(Image: DeMoulin Museum)*



Another hazing device used involved enacting a bogus knife-throwing stunt. The idea was for the knife-thrower to simulate throwing a knife by palming it, followed by a sound and a knife protruding from the back of the frame, as seen here. *(Image: DeMoulin Museum)*

ENDNOTES

[1] "Catalog No. 163: Woodmen of the World Supplies," from DeMoulin Bros. & Co., Greenville, Illinois, 1910, XXXIV.
[2] John Goldsmith, *Three Frenchmen and a Goat* (Tri-State Litho, 2004), 12.
[3] W. S. Harwood, "Secret Societies in America," *North American Review* 164 (1897), 617 and 620. As seen in Gerald Gamm and Robert D. Putnam, "The Growth of Voluntary Association in America, 1840-1940," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 39 (Spring, 1999), 511-57.
[4] Walter S. Nichols, "Fraternal Insurance in the United States: Its Origin, Development, Character and Existing Status," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 70 (March 1917), 110.
[5] Arthur M. Schlesinger, "Biography of a Nation of Joiners," *The American Historical Review* 50 (October 1944), 16.
[6] Gamm and Putnam, "The Growth of Voluntary Associations in America," 515.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Tocqueville, quoted in Putnam and Gamm, 513.
[9] "Great Times for Insurance Fraternities," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 9 1907.
[10] Alan Axelrod, *The International Encyclopedia of Secret Societies & Fraternal Orders* (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1997) see entries for Elks, Red Men, Freemasons, Odd Fellows, and MWA for founding dates.
[11] Putnam and Gamm, "The Growth of Voluntary Associations in America" 539.
[12] William Moore, "Canned Snakes, Mechanical Goats, and Spitting Skeletons: Making Sense of the 1930s DeMoulin Bros. & Co. Catalog," in *Burlesque Paraphernalia and Side Degree Specialities and Costumes,* ed. Charles Schneider (Seattle: Fantagraphics Books, 2010), 29.
[13] Axelrod, *The International Encyclopedia of Secret Societies & Fraternal Orders,* 225.
[14] Mark A. Swiencicki, "Consuming Brotherhood: Men's Culture, Style and Recreation as Consumer Culture, 1880-1930." *Journal of Social History* 31 (1998): 773ff; *U.S. History in Context*, accessed February 23, 2014.
[15] Swiencicki, "Consuming Brotherhood," 5.
[16] Ibid., 8.
[17] *Printer's Ink* (November 2, 1933): 42; *Advertising Age* (July 12, 1937): 14-15. The 1937 ad in *Advertising Age* stated that man was the producer, and woman the consumer.
[18] Moore, "Canned Snakes, Mechanical Goats, and Spitting Skeletons," 26.
[19] "Catalog No. 265: MWA Supplies," from DeMoulin Bros. & Co., Greenville, Illinois, 1917, 7-15.
[20] "Catalog No. 163," 165.
[21] The DeMoulin Bros. Museum has a notebook of all the patents the DeMoulin brothers were granted. Patents were granted for various initiation devices.
[22] Swiencicki, "Consuming Brotherhood," 8.
[23] Ibid., 13.
[24] Moore, "Canned Snakes, Mechanical Goats, and Spitting Skeletons," 24.
[25] "Name and Status Changes of Fraternal Benefit Societies," a very informative list of organizations that have gone out of business or merged with other entities, located at the American Fraternal Alliance webpage. http://fraternalalliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/NAME-AND-STATUS-CHANGES-OF-FRATERNAL-BENEFIT-SOCIETIES-2012.pdf

Faire une Maison: Carpenters in Ste. Genevieve, 1750-1850

BY BONNIE STEPENOFF

Besides vertical log construction, deep porches like these—the Nicholas Janis House in Ste. Genevieve and the Manuel Lisa House in St. Louis—were also common.

(Image: Library of Congress)

French carpenters and joiners created a distinctive cluster of vertical log houses in Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. More than 20 of these sturdy timber buildings survived in the twenty-first century, but the identities of their builders remained obscure. Close examination of archival records in the small town on the west bank of the Mississippi River sheds some light on the question of who built the old French houses of Ste. Genevieve and also provides a glimpse of the lives of master craftsmen in a French colonial settlement in the process of becoming an American town.[1]

The master carpenters and house joiners of Ste. Genevieve were free white and black men who enjoyed relatively high social status. At least one of these master craftsmen served as a justice of the peace, involved in governing the town and county. Most of them owned substantial property, because a master carpenter needed a relatively large amount of resources and credit in order to buy materials and pay workers. Master carpenters

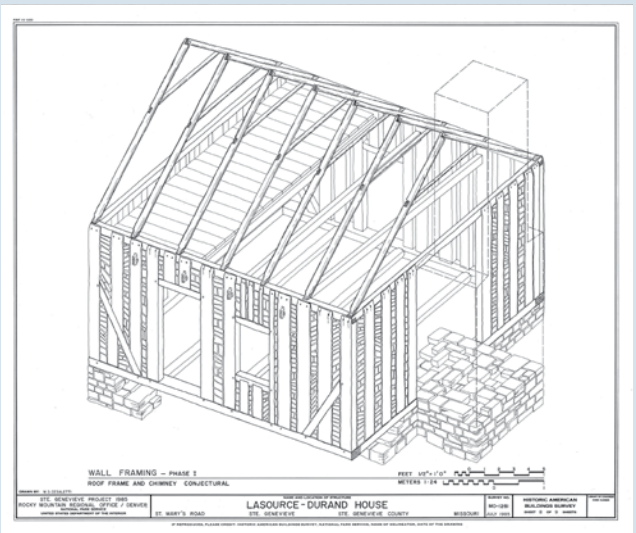
Building a Vertical Log House in Ste. Genevieve

Carpenters and house joiners in Ste. Genevieve and other French settlements learned to build vertical log houses from master craftsmen. Fathers taught their sons and masters taught apprentices, but the craft faded away by the middle of the nineteenth century. In the twenty-first century, Jesse Francis, who works as a museum curator for the St. Louis County Parks Department, is one of a very few people who know from personal experience how to construct a vertical log house, because he has been restoring French colonial buildings since the 1980s. He learned his skills from his uncle Charley Francis, who taught him about woodworking in the traditional way.

Describing the poteaux-en-terre (posts-in-ground) houses in an email to Bonnie Stepenoff, Francis said that the logs found in the surviving houses in Ste. Genevieve were generally cedar and about 16 to 18 feet long. Francis went on to explain that "the trees were cut down using a saw or axe and then flattened at each end." Workmen hewed (cut and shaped) the logs that would be placed side by side to form a wall about six or seven inches thick.

To build a posts-in-ground house, workmen dug a trench and placed four vertical corner posts in it. Francis said, "A shoulder cut on the top of each corner post allowed the top plate to be nailed in place on top of them. Before placement the top plate was laid out on the ground and scribed with a diagram showing placement of windows and doors." After assembling the four corner posts and the top plate, builders would erect the vertical logs. According to Francis, "Someone standing on the top plate would direct the placement of doors, windows, etc., by reading the diagram. Spaces between the logs were filled with bousillage, a mixture of mud and straw, stone, lime, or sand. A tool resembling a cooper's adze was used for cutting a channel in each log's side to hold the bousillage between the logs."

For the roofs of these houses, builders fashioned old-world-style trusses (frameworks) made of oak and rafters (boards or planks) made of oak, poplar, river willow, or pine. According to Francis, "The southern style of poteaux-en-terre with a gallery around the building has rafters placed directly on top of the truss rafters. This placement results in those strange roof lines seen commonly in Ste. Genevieve. Roofing materials would be hand-split shakes made of white oak or shingle oak and in the south, cypress. The shakes were nailed in place on sheeting made of anything including poplar, oak or pine."



Germans introduced the log cabins we often associate with frontier settlement in North America. The French brought a vertical log construction technique that was common in both Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis in the eighteenth century. *(Image: Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress)*

Post-on-sill houses survived more frequently than posts-in-ground houses because they rested on firmer foundations. Francis explained that the "post-on-sill building had a stone foundation providing the building with either a crawl space or full basement. A sill log made of oak, walnut or other hard wood sat on top of the stone foundation." The top of the sill would be mortised (cut to form a recess in which to place the upright logs). After that, said Francis, "Each log was then hewn from top to bottom and a tenon cut in the bottom to set into the mortise of the sill log. The top of the log was nailed in place like the poteaux-en-terre or the top could be mortise and tenon and pegged in place. Angle braces were placed on all four corners to stabilize the building. Roofing and trusses are generally of the same design as the poteaux-en-terre buildings."

supervised journeymen (who worked for daily wages), apprentices (who were bound or indentured to work for room and board), free laborers, and slaves. Among those these masters employed were their own sons, who learned their fathers' trade. Collectively, they created an architectural legacy that stood the test of time.[2]

Flurries of construction occurred during five distinct periods in the town's history. The first settlers arrived around 1750 and built the Old Town of Ste. Genevieve on a flat stretch of land close to the river. A flood in 1785 severely damaged this original settlement, and in the 1790s residents (*habitants*) busily re-created their homes on higher ground in an area they called New Ste. Genevieve. During this same period, French émigrés established the neighboring village of New Bourbon that faded away after a few decades. Between 1800 and 1808, around the time of the Louisiana Purchase, builders supplied housing for newcomers including many Anglo-Americans as well as French-speaking people. Again, in the 1820s, when Missouri became the twenty-fourth state to join the Union, construction boomed and French carpenters continued working in their traditional ways. Finally, between 1840 and 1846, craftsmen erected the last few vertical log houses in a town increasingly turning to Anglo-American and German-American building styles.[3]

For the earliest period, a rare surviving contract definitively ties a craftsman named Louis Boulet to the construction of a house for a prominent resident named Louis Boisleduc (Bolduc). Bolduc hired Boulet in June 1770 to "*faire une maison*" (build a house) with a rectangular floor plan measuring 26 by 21 French feet. One French foot equaled 12.76 English inches, and so the house would have measured 28 by 22 English feet. This was a small house, but most of the houses in the French settlement were of a similar size. The contract stipulated *poteaux-sur-solle* (post-on-sill) construction, in which vertical logs rested on a horizontal sill to form the exterior walls. The contract also called for *galeries* (porches) all around the house. *Galeries* of this type, which may have originated in the French colonies of the West Indies,

Bequette-Ribault House, 351 St. Mary Road, c. 1808, displays a galerie (gallery) all around. *(Image: Courtesy of the Author)*

Lalumandiere House, 801 S. Gabouri Street, c. 1829, undergoing restoration. The vertical logs are visible in places where the siding is missing. *(Image: Courtesy of the Author)*

offered shade in a hot muggy climate. Ventilation and relief from summer heat would also come from two doors, each six feet high, and five windows. Probably the house had only one or two rooms on the main floor and additional space in its enclosed attic under a roof that was to be covered with shingles. The house Boulet built would perish with the Old Town, but the contract described a type of house that became very common in New Ste. Genevieve.[4]

Boulet's contract offers clues about the economic and social position of carpenters in the French colony. Under its terms, Bolduc agreed to furnish all building materials and provide two men, "*deux hommes*," either white or black, who would help complete the job. The French farmers of Ste. Genevieve employed both free and slave labor. Slaves and free men toiled side by side in the fertile fields in the river bottom. It is likely that Boulet's "*deux hommes*" would work with him only during the months when they were not needed on Bolduc's land. The contract allowed more than a year to finish the project; the completion date was September 30, 1771. For his efforts, Boulet would receive 350 livres in cash or beaver or deer skins.[5]

Another carpenter who settled in the area had ample property, including land and slaves, of his own. Nicolas Caillot *dit* Lachance accumulated wealth in the east-bank colony of Kaskaskia, before he crossed the Mississippi River in the 1780s. In this context, the word "*dit*" meant "called" or "known as," and "*Lachance*" meant "Lucky" or "the Lucky One." Caillot, his wife, and sons acquired several tracts of land in Ste. Genevieve, New Bourbon, and on the Saline Creek south of New Bourbon. After his death in 1796, his wife, Marianne Giard, became administrator of a very sizable estate that included valuable farm land, at least three slaves, livestock, furniture, silver goblets, and other items valued at more than fourteen thousand livres. Most of his children apparently moved away from the area before 1800, but his son Joseph stayed and continued to work as a carpenter through the early years of the nineteenth century.[6]

Guibourd-Valle House, 1 North Fourth Street, c. 1806, belonged to the Guibourd family, which was associated with Michel Badeau. *(Image: Courtesy of the Author)*

At the end of the eighteenth century, Jean Marie Pepin *dit* Lachance, another "Lucky One," arrived in Ste. Genevieve after helping to build houses in colonial St. Louis. Born in Quebec, Canada, in 1737, he worked in St. Louis as early as 1767. Although he was a stone mason and not a carpenter, he had business relationships with carpenters first in St. Louis and later in Ste. Genevieve. In the 1770s, he enjoyed a good reputation as a master craftsman in St. Louis, where he owned some land, a house, and slaves. He seems to have harbored some radical political beliefs. During the French Revolution he helped to organize a "*Sans Coulottes"* group in St. Louis. In 1795, he insulted the local Spanish authorities and felt compelled to leave town. At first, he went to Vincennes, but some time later, he and his family came to Ste. Genevieve, where he organized a business with the son who shared his name. An account book dated 1803-11 survived to document the business, which employed local carpenters, including Joseph Lachance (son of Nicolas Caillot *dit* Lachance), in connection with several construction projects.[7]

Carpenters associated with the construction of vertical log buildings between 1800 and 1810 included Joseph Lachance and a newcomer named Michel Badeau. Born about 1785 in the French colony of St. Domingue, Badeau arrived in Ste. Genevieve sometime before 1808 (possibly by 1806). He may have been a white man, but he married a free woman of color named Caroline Cavalier and raised a large family, including three sons who followed in his footsteps and became carpenters. Records indicate that Michel Badeau worked for Jean Marie Pepin *dit* Lachance, who paid him daily wages on several projects. In 1813, he inherited money from Francois Badeau, who may have been his father, although the records are unclear on that point. Over the years, the Badeau family acquired substantial property, including lots at the corner of Washington and Fifth streets in Ste. Genevieve.[8]

Joseph Lachance and Michel Badeau were associated with the Bernier House (sometimes called the Bernier Barn), a somewhat puzzling example of early nineteenth-century *poteaux-sur-solle* construction. Oral tradition maintains that it was originally a barn, but sometime fairly

early in its history the owners converted it to a house. Repeated mentions of the Bernier "*grange"* in the account book of Jean Marie Pepin *dit* Lachance lend support to this common belief. The names of Joseph Lachance and Michel Badeau occur multiple times in connection with the Bernier "*grange*," suggesting that they constructed, repaired, or modified it in 1809. Researchers from the University of Missouri identified this French vertical log building in a survey in the mid-1980s. The original log walls survive beneath clapboard siding and nineteenth-century additions, including verge boards, gabled dormers, and an entry porch with a hipped roof.[9]

Badeau and Lachance may also have built the *poteaux-sur-solle* Jean Marie Pepin *dit* Lachance House at 699 North Fourth Street in the early 1800s. The Pepin (Lachance) family included the elder Jean Marie (born in 1737) and his wife Catherine Lalumandiere (born in 1764). The couple had seven children, but by the time they came to Ste. Genevieve, most of them were adults. Jean Marie the second (1791-1833) married Julie Gernon in Ste. Genevieve in 1810. By that time he may have taken over his father's business. He and Julie had four children, including Jean Marie the third (1817-1880). As the family grew, so did the house. Originally a one-room vertical log cabin (c. 1806), the house acquired a long sequence of additions.[10]

Badeau also has an interesting connection to the Guibourd-Valle House, an impressive example of *poteaux-sur-solle* construction completed in 1806. Historically, the house belonged to Jacques Guibourd, but in the 1930s members of the Valle family restored it. According to historian Carl Ekberg, the Guibourd house was the "first major residence built in Ste. Genevieve under American sovereignty." Jacques Guibourd fled the slave rebellion in St. Domingue and arrived in Ste. Genevieve in 1799, but he occupied another residence for several years before completing this house c. 1806. Very significantly, Guibourd had a strong connection to Michel Badeau, who also came from St. Domingue. In 1813, the widow of Jacques Guibord was executrix of the will of Francois Badeau, who left money to Michel Badeau.[11]

The Badeau family has ties to the Auguste Aubuchon

View of south Main Street in Ste. Genevieve, showing galleries and typical roof lines. *(Image: Courtesy of the Author)*

House, 467 Washington Street, an early nineteenth-century *poteaux-sur-solle* residence that belonged to a descendant of one of the first French families to settle in Ste. Genevieve. Ekberg noted that the surname "Obichon," or Aubuchon, appeared in very early records, and that the Aubuchons remained an important presence in Ste. Genevieve throughout the colonial period. In later years, it seems the Badeau family owned this property, although it is not clear who built the house. In 1853, Michel and Caroline Badeau sold two lots at the corner of Washington and Fifth streets, and one of them was purchased by their son Henry. By 2001, according to local historian Mark Evans, Auguste Aubuchon's old home had deteriorated, but it remained "an excellent example of Ste. Genevieve's colonial architecture." In very recent times, a preservationist has purchased this house and is in the process of restoring it.[12]

During the 1810s and 1820s, another master carpenter, Michael Goza, lived and worked in Ste. Genevieve. In January of 1811, Lawrence Durocher signed an indenture binding his son Antoine as an apprentice to Goza, "to learn the trade art and mystery of a Carpenter and House Joiner," to live with Goza for five years, and to "faithfully serve his said master." Goza, for his part, promised to "teach and instruct" the young man and provide him with "good meat drink and Clothing and Lodging." Over the years, Goza became a prominent and influential citizen of the town. In 1819, he signed a document approving "the timber with which W. J. McArthur repaired the Jail, and the manner in which the work is done." After Missouri became a state, Goza served as a justice of the peace, signing many official documents between 1822 and 1823. According to the family history, Goza died in Fredericktown, Missouri, in 1836. Antoine Durocher remained in Ste. Genevieve and became a solid citizen and householder, who served on a coroner's jury in 1847.[13]

The Badeau family stayed on in Ste. Genevieve after Goza left town and passed away. Official documents reveal that Michel Badeau purchased a slave named Michael from Berthelmi St. Gemme in October 1836. Two years later, Badeau signed manumission papers granting Michael, age 26, his freedom for the sum of one dollar.

Aubuchon House, 467 Washington Street, c. 1800, has associations with the Badeau family. *(Image: Courtesy of the Author)*

Amoureux House, 327 St. Mary Road, constructed c. 1792, was the home of Pelagie Amoureux in the mid-1800s. *(Image: Courtesy of the Author)*

Papers signed by Badeau offer no explanation, but state that "for divers and sufficient causes me thereto moving, I am willing to manumit and set free my slave Michael." It was not unheard of for a carpenter in Ste. Genevieve to purchase a slave, but perhaps it was unusual for the husband of a woman of color and father of a racially blended family to do so. Perhaps Badeau purchased Michael with the intention of freeing him, but two years passed before he signed the manumission documents.[14]

Henry Badeau ended up in a court battle in 1845 with a free woman of color named Pelagie Amoureux. Pelagie, the wife of a white man, alleged that Badeau grabbed her and shook her while she was walking down the street. After taking shelter on a porch, she reported that he threatened her and cursed her. The records provide no proof of the truth or falsity of Pelagie's claims, but it is true that she made a similar claim of assault in 1841 against a slave named Charles. In the previous case, an all-white white jury found her claims to be groundless. As a matter of fact, the jury accused her of being a woman of poor character who set a bad example to the community. These cases attest to the complicated relationships between white people, slaves, and free people of color in Ste. Genevieve.[15]

While French vertical log construction apparently ceased after 1850, the Badeau family lived in Ste. Genevieve for another decade. Michel Badeau's work as a master carpenter spanned nearly half a century, including the periods between 1800-10 and 1820-30 when the vast majority of the town's vertical log structures were built. In 1860, Michel's wife Caroline and several of their grandchildren died of cholera. Sometime after that, Michel, his sons, and their wives and children apparently moved to St. Louis, where Michel died in 1876.[16]

Badeau and the other master carpenters of Ste. Genevieve did not write their names on the houses they built. In a sense, they lived out their lives in obscurity, but they were successful men and substantial citizens. Michael Goza served as a county official. Nicolas Caillot *dit* Lachance owned large tracts of land, slaves, and valuable personal property. Badeau and his racially blended family also owned property. Caillot and Badeau trained their sons to carry on their work, and Goza instructed a young apprentice. These men left a mark on their community, but they could not have imagined that the houses they built would become a great legacy of the French period in the history of North America.

ENDNOTES

[1] Research for this article depended to a great extent on the St. Genevieve Archives, microfilmed by the State Historical of Missouri, and available at several libraries, including the Special Collections and Archives in Kent Library at Southeast Missouri State University in Cape Girardeau, Missouri. B. H. Rucker compiled the initial list of carpenters and other building tradesmen from census records. James Baker provided important comments and corrections to the original draft of this article.

[2] These generalizations are based on a close study of census records and historic documents that identified individuals in Ste. Genevieve as carpenters and joiners. For information on the trade of carpentry in the French tradition, see Michael Sonenscher, *Work and Wages: Natural Law, Politics, and the Eighteenth-century French Trades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 261-62.

[3] Since the 1940s, the National Park Service (NPS) has sponsored numerous surveys of French colonial architecture in Ste. Genevieve. Results of these studies have been published in a number of reports, which will be cited in this article. For information on the history of Ste. Genevieve from 1750-1804, see Carl Ekberg, *Colonial Ste. Genevieve: An Adventure on the Mississippi Frontier* (Tucson: Patrice Press, 1996). For information on the history of Ste. Genevieve from 1804 to the end of the nineteenth century, see Bonnie Stepenoff, *From French Community to Missouri Town: Ste. Genevieve in the Nineteenth Century* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006).

[4] Carl Ekberg, *Louis Bolduc, His Family, and His House* (Tucson: Patrice Press, 2002), 6-7; original building contract in Ste. Genevieve Archives, Folder 23.

[5] Ekberg, *Louis Bolduc,* 6-7; Ste. Genevieve Archives, Folder 23.

[6] Ekberg, *Colonial Ste. Genevieve*, 429, 439; Louis Houck, *History of Missouri* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelly and Sons, 1908), volume 1, p. 366; Estate Papers, Mrs. Nicolas Caillot de Lachance (Marianne Giard), 1796, in Ste. Genevieve Archives, Folder 203.

[7] Charles E. Peterson, *Colonial St. Louis: Building a Creole Capital* (Tucson: Patrice Press, 2001), 51-52. The Account Book of Jean Marie Pepin *dit* Lachance, 1803-11, is preserved on microfilm in the Ste. Genevieve Archives, Folder 6.

[8] Stepenoff, *From French Community to Missouri Town*, 42, 53-54; Account Book of Jean Marie Pepin *dit* Lachance, Ste. Genevieve Archives, Folder 6.

[9] National Historic Landmark (NHL) Nomination, on file with the Missouri State Historic Preservation Office, 2001, 16-17; Lachance Account Book, Ste. Genevieve Archives, Folder 6.

[10] NHL Nomination, 2001, 18-19, Ste. Genevieve Archives, Folders 6, 203, and 246.

[11] Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) MO-1109; NHL Nomination, 2001, 17-18; Ekberg, *Colonial Ste. Genevieve,* 443-44; Stepenoff, *From French Community to Missouri Town,* 25, 79; Account Book of Francois Badeau Estate, Ste. Genevieve Archives, Folder 114.

[12] NHL Nomination, 2001, 36-37; Ekberg, *Colonial Ste. Genevieve,* 30-31; Property Deeds in Ste. Genevieve Archives, Folder 34; Mark L. Evans, *Commandant's Last Ride* (Cape Girardeau: Ten-Digit Press, 2001)*,* 95.

[13] Indenture between Lawrence Durocher and Michael Goza, 1811, in the Ste. Genevieve Archives, Folder 24; approval of repair work on the jail, Ste. Genevieve Archives, Folder 687; *Goodspeed's History of Southeast Missouri* (Independence: BNL Library Services, 1978 reprint of the 1888 edition), 314; Summons to serve as a juror in a coroner's inquest, Ste. Genevieve Archives, 1847.

[14] Manumission document on file in the Ste. Genevieve Archives, Folder 419.

[15] Stepenoff, *From French Community to Missouri Town, 116-117.*

[16] Ibid., 53-54.

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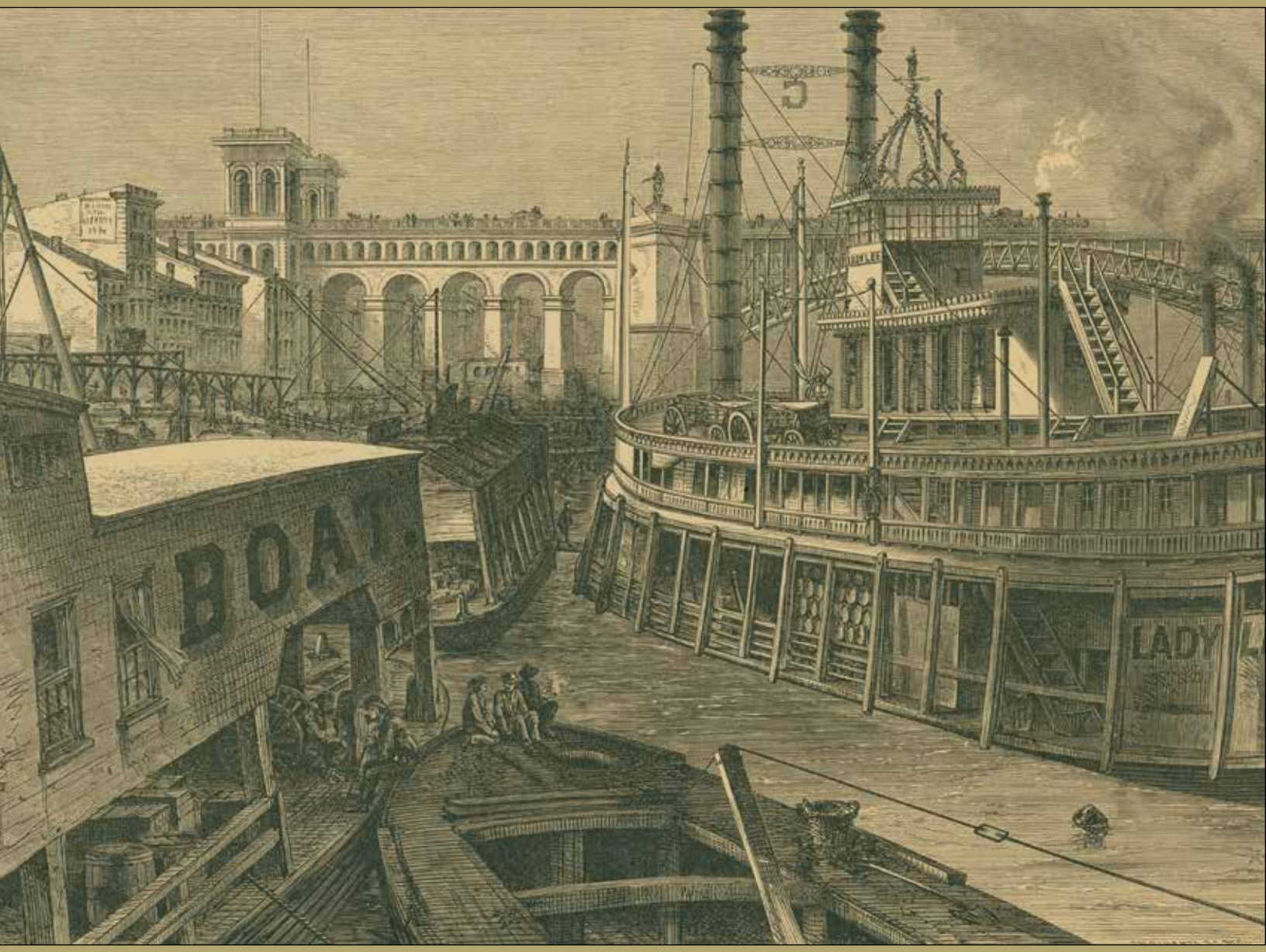
A Frontier City Through a Planner's Eyes:

Frederick Law Olmsted's Visit to St. Louis

BY JEFFREY SMITH

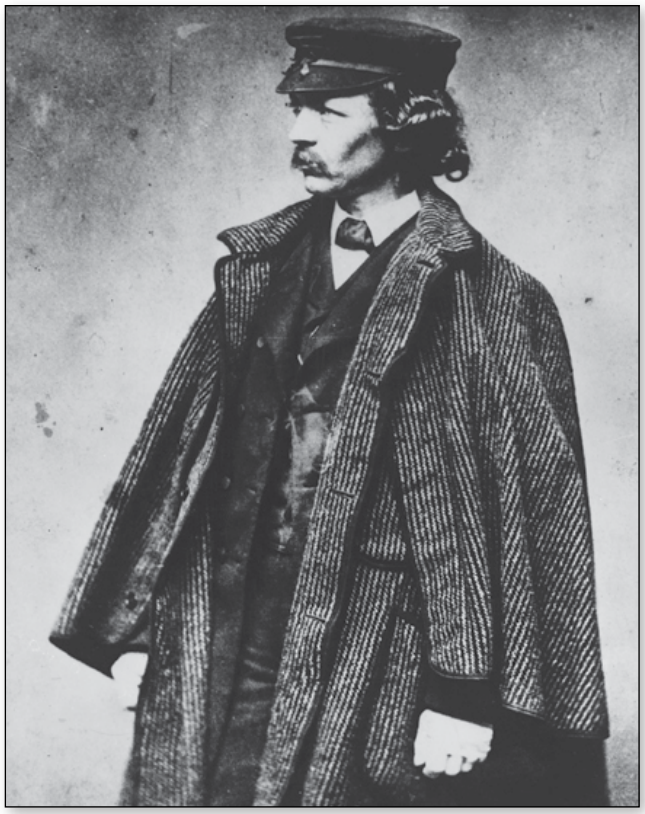


When Olmsted stepped off the ferry, he saw one of the bustling riverfronts in the United States. Even when Olmsted was in St. Louis, the Mississippi waterfront was busy supplying vast areas on steamboats. *(Image: Missouri History Museum)*

Perhaps the most striking part of Frederick Law Olmsted's *Journey in the West* is his proclamation in the first sentence that in St. Louis, the westernmost city he visited, "there is nothing peculiarly western." One can't help but wonder what a New Yorker like Olmsted expected: Indian wars in the city limits? Buffalo wandering the streets? A city of log cabins?

One thing is certain, though. Much of the St. Louis that Olmsted saw in April 1863 was fairly new. A devastating fire in May 1849 destroyed more than 900 buildings near the riverfront after the steamer *White Cloud* caught fire and ignited other steamboats and part of the city, much of which was replaced during the 1850s. Besides that, St. Louis was a burgeoning city. With some 160,000 souls on the eve of the Civil War in 1860, its population was more than double that of 1850, making it the eighth-largest city in the United States. To us, it seems like quite a sight to behold.

So, what brought him to St. Louis in 1863? By the start of the Civil War, Frederick Law Olmsted was already well known in the field of landscape design. Today, we think of him (along with Andrew Jackson Downing) as the father of landscape architecture. By the war's start, he and his partner, Calvert Vaux, had already started designing Central Park in New York. When the war started, Olmsted took a leave of absence as director of Central Park to join the war effort as Executive Secretary of the U.S. Sanitary Commission—so named for its role in promoting health and sanitation in military encampments. A forerunner of the American Red Cross, the Sanitary Commission had many functions—caring for the wounded, delivering humanitarian aid to the front, overseeing some procurement of supplies. In this capacity, it was the general umbrella organization for Soldiers' Aid Societies—local organizations of women taking on tasks as varied as caring for wounded soldiers, producing foodstuffs and bandages, and sponsoring fetes to raise money for the war effort. In St. Louis, local leaders organized a similar organization, the Western Sanitary Commission, led by local businessman James Yeatman and Unitarian minister and Washington University founder William Greenleaf Eliot.[1] Initially, the Western Sanitary Commission was to support efforts in the western theater, but Olmsted crossed swords with Yeatman in 1862 when the St. Louisans started raising money among wealthy abolitionists in New England, which Olmsted considered poaching.[2] The relationship was already less than ideal; Olmsted wanted the westerners under the national commission rather than, as he saw it, a rival. But he finally resigned himself to it in February 1862, remarking that as long as the group in St. Louis agreed to help all Union men rather than Missourians only, there was little Olmsted could do.[3] But the fundraising back east renewed tensions; in



Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903) ranks among the first landscape architects in the United States. Although an administrator with the U.S. Sanitary Commission, Olmsted is best known for his landscape work on public parks with his partner, Calvert Vaux. By the end of his life, Olmsted ranked among the nation's most revered landscape architects. *(Image: National Park Service, Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site)*

Wagons of goods and supplies from the Sanitary Commission were orchestrated through Olmsted's offices, connecting production in the states with battlefield needs. James Gardner, one of the most famous photographers of the Civil War, took this photo in 1865. *(Image: Library of Congress)*

What follows, then, is an excerpt from Olmsted's *Journey in the West* describing his visit to St. Louis in the spring of 1863, in the midst of the Civil War. It is reprinted with permission from the Johns Hopkins University Press.

April Olmsted admonished Yeatman, and asked what would happen if other places raised money in the east as well. "Others less fortunate than St. Louis has been in possessing men of earnestness, energy and eloquence," Olmsted noted, "might, although their needs were greater, obtain little or nothing."[4]

So, Olmsted may have arrived in St. Louis with something less than an open mind in his assessment of it. He starts his narrative with a brief account of dining at "a small villa," almost certainly Yeatman's home.[5] Given their relationship and Yeatman's southern roots, it is no wonder that Olmsted wanted to look down on Yeatman and his ilk.

Yeatman was one of a larger group of St. Louis leaders who arrived between the late 1830s and early 1850s to become among its civic elite into the late nineteenth century. Most were self-made men, benefiting from the economic expansion in St. Louis. They were the founders or leaders of organizations as diverse as Washington University, the St. Louis Mercantile Library, Bellefontaine Cemetery, and the Western Sanitary Commission. In many ways, their vision of making St. Louis into a modern American city was theirs. As civic boosters, Olmsted was probably not far from the truth when he noted that, "No subject was talked of that did not give occasion for some new method, (always used confidently and with certainty that it was kindness to do so) for trumpeting St. Louis. It was the same with every man & woman we met in St. Louis."

But Olmsted cannot seem to help but compare St. Louis to eastern cities. The wines are on par with Charleston, but the buildings are "respectable" but undistinguished. Shaw's Garden is nice but soon to be outgrown. It is overly focused on business rather than culture. "Even the Mercantile Library, however" sniffed Olmsted, "is mercantile."

Spring 1863 • St. Louis, Chicago

In the general street aspect of St. Louis there is nothing peculiarly Western. It is substantially built—more so than most Eastern towns—more so than New York on an average. There are few buildings of notable character, many which are respectable. The same is true of the town socially, I judge. We dined one day at a small villa. The people—well-bred and neither genteel nor stylish—were chiefly of Southern birth and of modified Southern manners. I should probably have said Western, if I had not become familiar with those which are Southern. The wines were nearly the same as at a Charleston dinner of similar scale, the talk about them was a playfully held but natural remnant of the serious Charleston habit of wine-talk. There were some good paintings and an exquisite small statue by an Italian sculptor; the grounds had a plantation rudeness, inequality of keeping and untidiness. The family, hot and strong Unionists, hating the rebels and zealous with newly emancipated repugnance to Slavery, had nevertheless an obvious, though unconfessed and probably unconscious pride in being Southern. But this they would, if it had

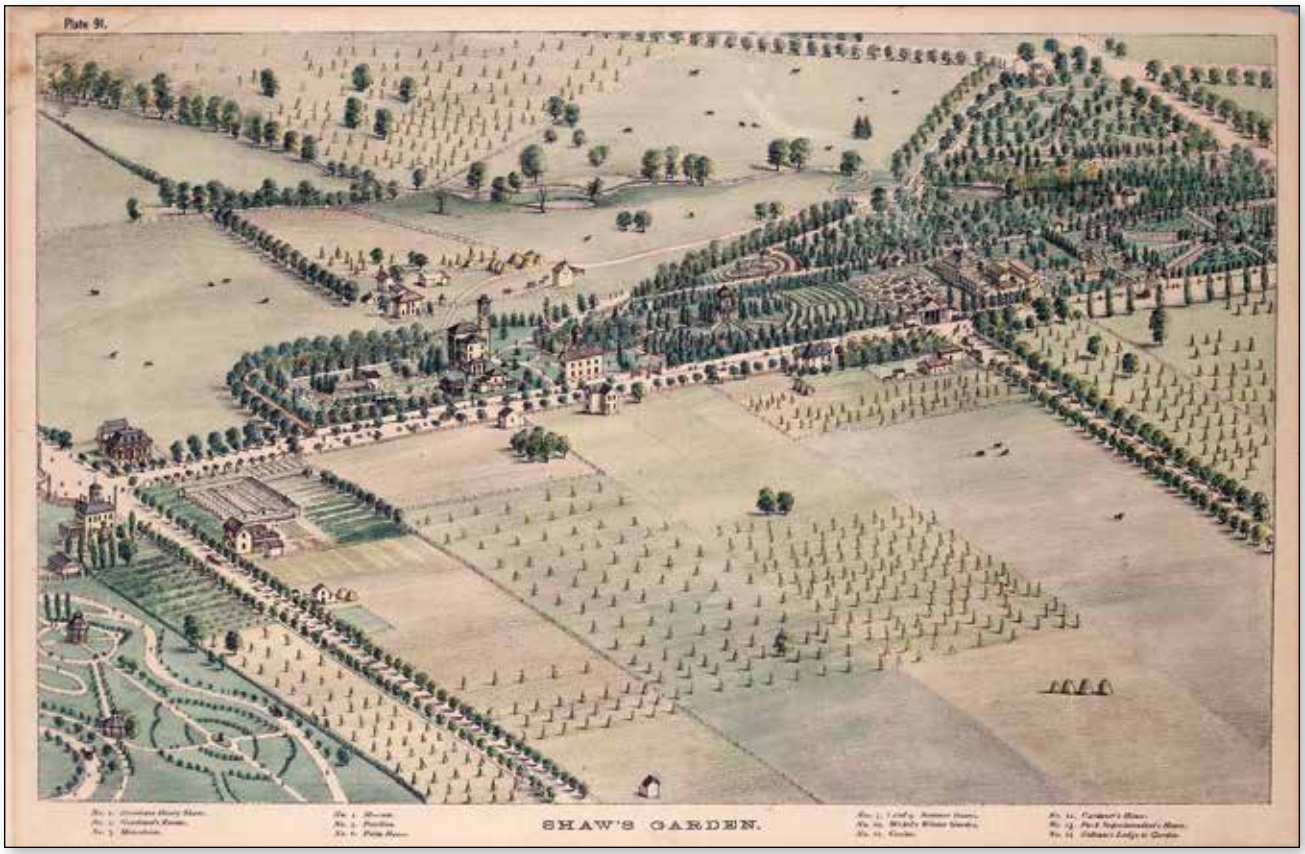
James Yeatman (1818-1901) was part of a generation of young entrepreneurs who migrated to St. Louis in the 1840s. Despite his youth, he was one of the founders of several cultural institutions in St. Louis including the St. Louis Mercantile Library and Bellefontaine Cemetery. He was head of the Western Sanitary Commission. This is a rare painted daguerreotype, blending the artistry of both photographer and portrait painter. *(Image: Missouri History Museum)*

been demonstrated to them, have themselves regarded as a weakness, possibly; what they never thought of concealing or suppressing or restraining from its utmost outpouring was their satisfaction in being St. Louisans. No subject was talked of that did not give occasion for some new method, (always used confidently and with certainty that it was kindness to do so) for trumpeting St. Louis. It was the same with every man & woman we met in St. Louis. The devout dwellers in Mecca do not worship the holy city more than every child of St. Louis, his city. It happened that I was enough interested to enjoy this. It was what I wanted. And the most notable thing I Learned of St. Louis was the pleasure of the people to talk about it—what it had been, what it would be.

The two things which interested me most, after the poorly contrived barracks of immense extent, and the military hospitals, were the Mercantile Library and the Botanic gardens of Mr. ___ [Shaw] promised by him to be given at his death to the city. The Botanic Garden greatly disappointed me—simply because I had sometime before read an account of it in the Western advertising style in which it was magnified by adjective force, many hundredfold. It's a very noble affair for Mr. ___ a man who came here from England, poor & who has been working very hard for the best part of a long life to be able to be munificent, but it's a dwarfish & paltry affair for a town like St. Louis and with its prospects. The next generation will be by no means satisfied, I hope, with such a baby-house sort of public garden. I doubt not the plan will have been simplified a great deal before you see it. Mr. ___, it is said, has lately proposed to enlarge his gift by presenting the city with ground for a park. There are several hundred acres of land in his possession about the Botanic garden, having at present a majestic simplicity of surface. A park of noble breadth and delicious repose of character could be made here. Such a gift would be of ten thousand times the value of the garden, even for educational purposes.

There is a danger that the bad qualities of the New York Central Park, growing out of natural limitations of the site not to be overcome, will lead to a fashion of cheap park-planning, in which a sentiment will reign the reverse of that which is characteristic of nature on the continent and of that which, except for fashion, would be most agreeable to the people. The craving, and incoherent cry of the people of St. Louis even now for a pleasure-ground and for rural-recreations is to be detected in various ways, most demonstratedly to the capitalist by the experience of a company who lately established in the suburbs an Agricultural Fair-Ground. On the occasions when it has been open to the public, on payment of admission fees,

Small wonder that a landscape designer visited Henry Shaw's famous gardens on the outskirts of the city. This drawing gives some sense of the Shaw's Garden that Olmsted marveled at in 1863. *(Image: Missouri Botanical Garden Archives, St. Louis)*



more than forty thousand persons a day have visited it; on one day, when the Prince of Wales took part in the performances, above eighty thousand. This number was pretty well established, I was told, though in part only by the admission-fees, the gates and fences having been carried away in the press. One of the treasured utterances of the Prince on the occasion, after having been cheered by several acres of close packed men, was: "I suppose there are more than a thousand people here." At least thirty thousand must have been looking him in the face at that moment, it is said. The investment of the company in the grounds, buildings and otherwise is supposed to be about one hundred thousand dollars; its receipts during a cattle-show acquisition of valuable information or other hope of pecuniary return. And this in a town west of the Mississippi, nearly one third of the population of which have been brought across the Atlantic from Germany, as steerage-passengers, and every man in which, of the rich as well as the poor, seems enslaved to a habit of incessant activity and labor to enlarge the supply, at St. Louis, of the material wants of men. The tide of commerce incessantly flows through every man's brain. You perceive it as strongly in those of the quieter callings—the teachers, preachers, physicians, as in others. All are busy with the foundation-laying of civilization. Some stones for the superstructure are being set but they are so let in to the foundations that the sense of commercial speculation is never wholly lost.

Out of domestic life, the Mercantile Library was the most respectable matter that I came in contact with in St. Louis. A very large hall with a goodly number of men and women, boys and girls, reading books, and looking at statues and paintings. These were not all very good, but enough to feed that part of a man's nature through which works of art do him good, better than one man in a million is fed by unassociated reaching out for such aliment. Even the Mercantile Library, however, is mercantile and, as I inferred from some account of its rent transactions, would hardly exist—certainly would not be what it is—had not the plan for it possessed a certain element of good trading. I think it was, in some way or other, apropos of the Mercantile Library that a gentleman said to me: "People here like very much to associate all their benevolence with business. Almost any benevolent enterprise will be taken

Created in 1853, Central Park in New York was America's first landscaped public park. Local elites thought such a park would help New York City compare favorably with cities like Paris and London. Its governance was politicized early, though, and Olmsted was part of it. The first Central Park Commission, created in 1857, was dominated by the Republican Party to keep it out of the hands of the emerging Democratic political machine in the city. By the start of the Civil War, Olmsted was well known in Republican circles. Currier & Ives printed this image of the park for popular consumption in 1869. *(Image: Library of Congress)*

hold of liberally here, if you can show that it carries a business advantage to our city with it. We are all very fond of feeling that we are driving business and philanthropy harnessed together in the same team." An enormous building designed for a hotel but not occupied, was pointed out to us.

"Why is it not occupied?"

"It really is not needed as a hotel. It would not pay expenses, I suppose, if it were opened, now."

"Why was it built then?"

"The capital was supplied for it by the property owners in this part of the city because they thought it would have a favorable influence upon the value of property. They have in effect, for this reason, given a bonus of several hundred thousand dollars in order to get the finest hotel in the city established where it will help to bring their lots and buildings more into public view. That is a kind of advertising which is very much resorted to here. Our churches are built, in that way, a great deal."

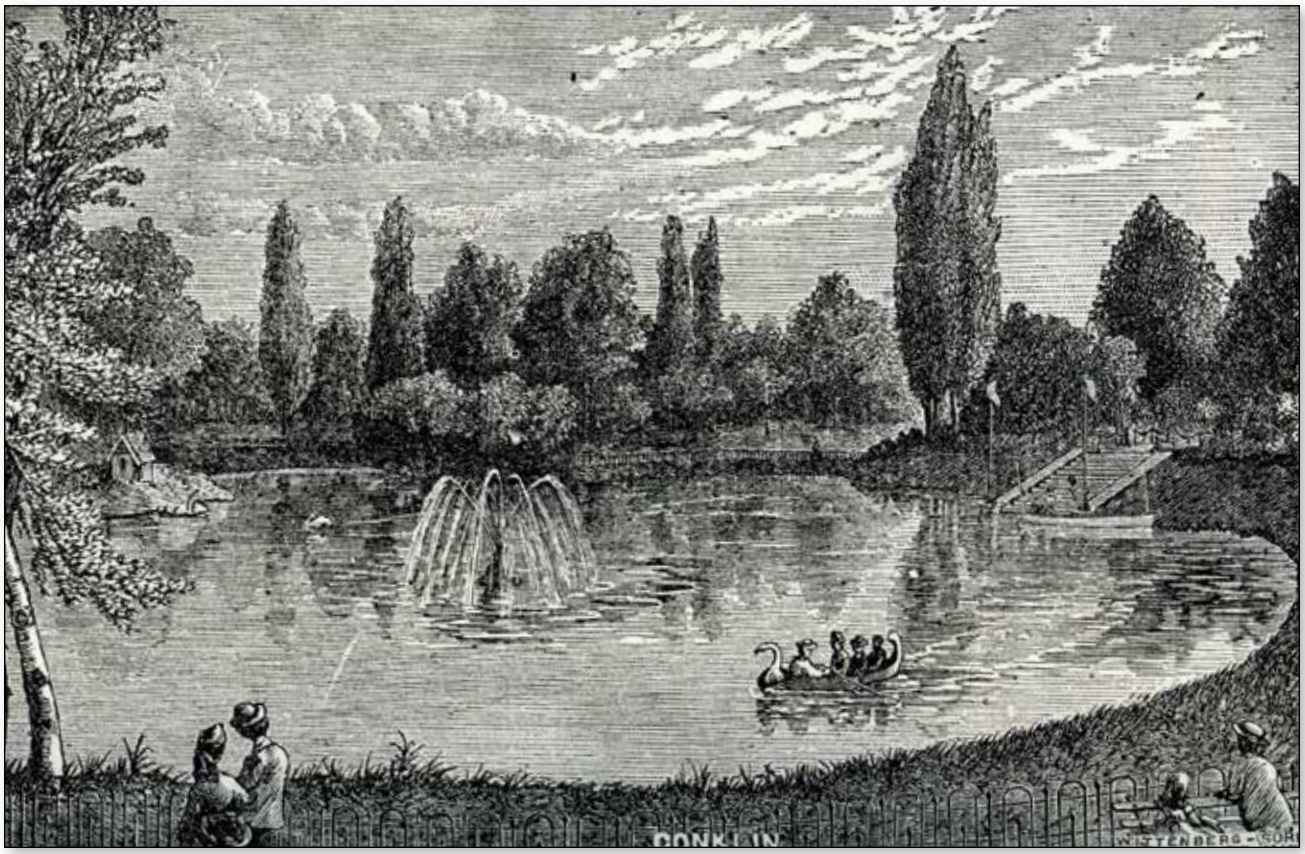
I was glad to notice that the public schools were an object of pride with the citizens. The buildings are large. I did not enter them nor meet any of the teachers.

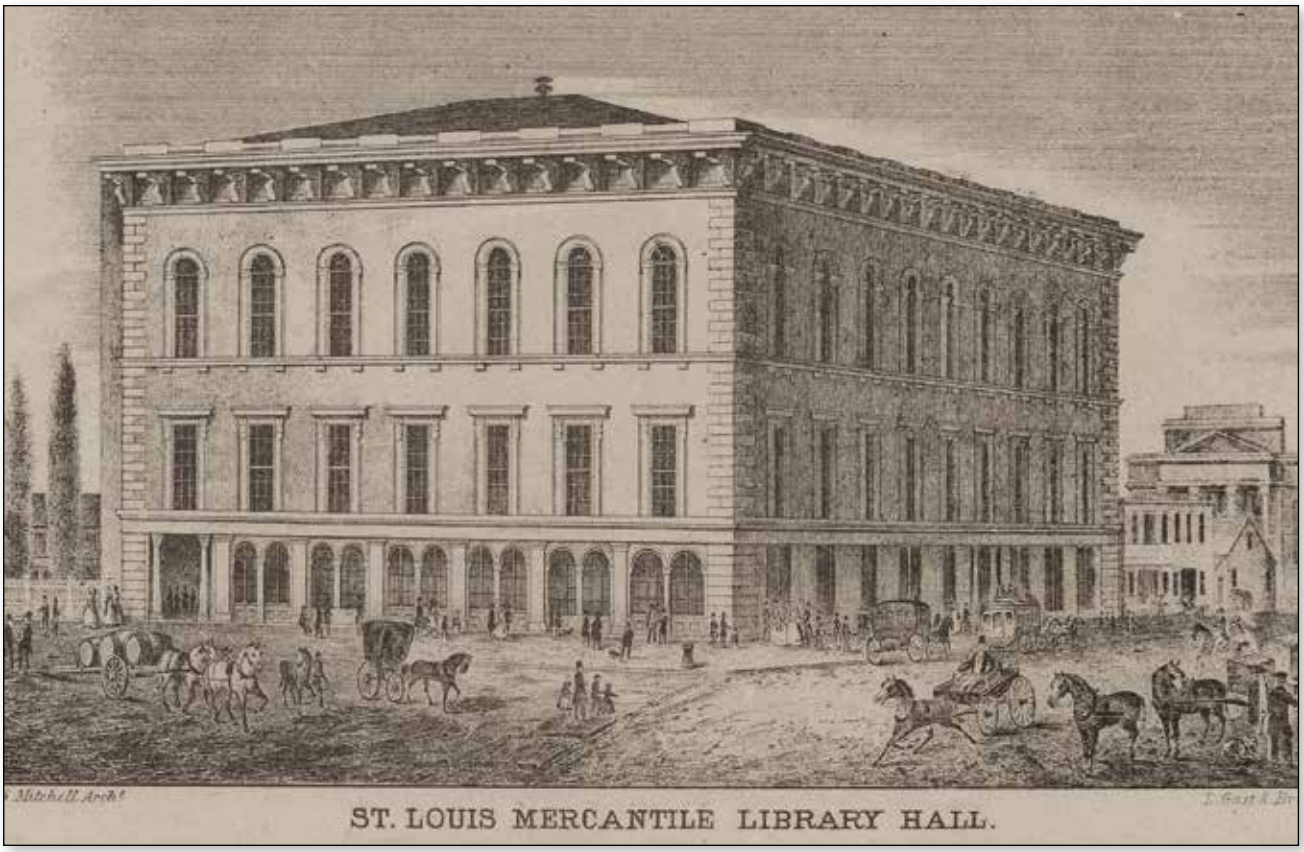
In passing through a part of the town occupied almost exclusively by Germans, on a warm Sunday when the windows were generally open I noticed much new and smart furniture and that the women were nearly all smartly dressed. I saw no squalid poverty except among negroes & fugitives from the seat of war, I did not see a beggar in St. Louis. I do not recollect that I saw a policeman, though I did more than once see and experience the need of one. It is certainly from no action of the law or good regulations or public provision for paupers that no beggar & so little poverty is seen. Yet St. Louis, it is generally supposed, suffers much more than any other considerable town out of the rebel states from the war. Its growth had been recently very rapid until it was arrested by the war. I asked an old resident, distinguished for his interest in the poor & needy, and who had been a mayor of the city, "How generally have poor, laboring men and families been found, in your observation, to improve their condition, after they have moved to St. Louis?"

He answered, "Invariably," meaning, no doubt, that any exceptions were of a plainly accidental character.

"Can you see that the children of those who came here

Lafayette Park was the first park in St. Louis, located south and west of downtown. Although the St. Louis City Council created it in 1836, Lafayette wasn't dedicated and used as a park until 1851 and named for the Marquis de Lafayette three years later. Its original design had the geometric paths of a European-style "pleasure garden" rather than the more naturalistic lines used by Olmsted. *(Image: A Tour of St. Louis; or, the Inside Life of a Great City, J.A. Dachu, 1878; Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)*





Olmsted visited the institutions that made St. Louis seem like a "real" city, including the St. Louis Mercantile Library Association, created in 1846. Unlike libraries today, the Mercantile was a subscription library, requiring annual payments to use the books, reading room, and the rest. This building, completed in the early 1850s, included the largest auditorium in St. Louis at the time—large enough for Missouri constitutional conventions in the Civil War era. *(Image: Missouri History Museum)*

longest ago are now generally fit for higher social duties and of a higher rank as men than their fathers?"

"Universally so; with the Germans especially; they become Americans, with all the American characteristics."

There are probably a larger number of men of what would be considered moderate wealth in the middle class of England, in St. Louis, than in any town of its size in Europe. I asked my friend, the ex-mayor, "How many of these came to St. Louis comparatively poor men?"

"There is scarcely one that did not begin here by sweeping out his employer's store or office, and that is true of most of our very wealthiest men also—our bankers and capitalists. We nearly all began here with nothing but our heads and hands."

This being the case it is really more marvelous how well the people live within their own houses than how very poorly they live out of their own houses.

In going from St. Louis to Chicago, we had to cross the Mississippi in a steam ferry-boat, and this was our leave-taking of the Mississippi and its steamboat business. There are two lines of railroad to Chicago. In purchasing tickets for one of them, we were assured that the train upon it would reach Chicago two hours sooner than that leaving at the same hour by the other road, and this statement was confirmed by a gentleman who appeared to be accidentally present, and who said that he had often travelled by both roads. We should have chosen the road we did all the same, if the exact truth had been told us, which was that we should be two hours longer upon it than upon the other. The usual method was practiced of causing a panic among the passengers leaving the hotel in an omnibus, by an appearance of great impatience over the last man to come out and of reckless haste in driving, so that all but the very old travelers were greatly relieved when it was ascertained that the ferry-boat for the train had not left. On that ferry-boat however, we remained at the hither landing three quarters of an hour, being detained twenty minutes past the proper time of starting by the arrival of a large herd of swine. Swine are hard to drive upon a ferry-boat. Sometimes when they were coming nicely, slowly and methodically over the gang-plank, it would seem as if instantaneously the devil entered into all of them, their heads were reversed and they were leaping frantically away from the boat. The dropping of a gate in the boat's

rail prevented those already on board from taking part in this stampede, but nothing could stop those outside till they found themselves on the other side of their drivers, when they would, for the most part, stop and stand quietly till the cordon was again drawn round them. The last of these stampedes occurred at the moment when all but two of the hogs had been got inside of the gate. One stopped as usual and was brought back; the other, finding himself alone, after doubling two or three times, took an upriver course and ran straight out of sight. To my surprise, the captain refused to wait for him and so the Great Eastern Mail and passengers for "Chicago, Cincinnati, and the East," were generously allowed to leave St. Louis, only twenty minutes behind time. I am sorry to say that the trains waited for them. Fare thee well, Father of Waters, who art also Father of Lies to us. May thy tide be clearer and less eddying to my friend, the student of the next century.

Both the United States and Western Sanitary Commissions mobilized women in a variety of roles—making supplies like blankets and bandages, raising money, and caring for wounded soldiers. This image from *Harper's Illustrated Weekly* (the self-proclaimed "Journal of Civilization") called these women "our heroines." *(Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)*

ENDNOTES

1 For more on Eliot's role in the Civil War and his views on slavery, see Miranda Rectenwald and Sonja Rooney, "'Shall we be one strong and united people . . .," *The Confluence* 2 (Spring 2011).

2 *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted. Vol. 4: The Civil War and The U.S. Sanitary Commission, 1861-1863*, Charles Capen McLaughlin, Editor-in-Chief, Jane Turner, ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 34.

3 Frederick Law Olmsted to the Rev. George Magoun (head of the Iowa Sanitary Commission), February 6, 1862, *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted*, 262-68.

4 Frederick Law Olmsted to James Yeatman, April 17, 1862, Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted, Vol. 4, 306-7.

5 *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted*, 590.

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